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Classical Philology

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NOTES ON THE DELPHIC ORACLE AND GREEK COLONIZATION

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

Near the beginning of Cicero's treatise *On Divination*, to illustrate the importance attached by different races to various kinds of prophetic power the question is asked, "What colony has Greece sent into Aeolia, Ionia, Asia, Sicily, or Italy without an oracle from the Pythia or Dodona or Ammon? Or what war has been undertaken by Greece without the will of the gods?"¹ With this general testimony of Cicero we may compare harmonious statements from other authors. "It was under the lead of Phoebus," says Callimachus, "that men measured out their cities, for Phoebus ever takes pleasure in the establishment of cities, and it is Phoebus himself who contrives their foundations."² And the rhetorician Menander³ asserts that Apollo had colonized the mainland, the sea, Libya, the Hellespont, the East, and all Asia, and says that the earth would have run the risk of being uninhabited had not the oracles of the gods everywhere

¹ *De div.* 1. 3. For the form of expression compare Cic. *De rep.* 2. 9: "Coloniarum vero quae est deducta a Graecis in Asiam, Thraciam, Italiam, Africam, praeter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non adluat?"

² *In Apoll.* 55 ff.; cf. Justin. 8. 2. 11 (of the Athenians): "immemores . . . quod illo duce [sc. Apolline] tot bella victores inierant, tot urbes auspicio condiderant."

³ 17 (*Rhet. Gr.* IX, 326, Wals); cf. Aristides. *Paneg. in Cyzico* 237: περὶ σθαι δὲ τινα ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις οἶμαι τὸν περὶ Κυζίκου χρησμὸν καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῇ πόλει, ὅς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐξηγητὴς ἐστὶ, τῇ δὲ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἀρχηγέτης, τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας πόλεις διὰ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ὥκισεν οὗς ἀπέστειλεν ἑκαστοχόσας, ταύτης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως αὐτὸς γέγονεν οἰκιστής, κτλ.

gone forth, from Delphi and from Miletus.¹ Celsus also, as preserved to us in the pages of Origen,² inquires: "How many cities were founded as a result of oracles . . . and as a result of oracles averted diseases and famine! And how many which neglected or forgot the oracles came to an evil destruction! And how many were sent forth for colonization and after complying with the things enjoined became prosperous!" In reply to which Origen,³ not refuting the facts for pagan Greece, shows that the words of the Hebrew prophets, when heeded, have been followed by colonizations, cures, and rescues of equal importance, or, when neglected, by similar disasters. In the Scholia Danielis to Virgil's *Aeneid*⁴ we find the statement, now grown vaguer through antiquity, that "the ancients used to receive by oracles signs by which they built their towns." Finally, in two other passages similar functions are ascribed to *μαντεῖαι* in general,⁵ but possibly with Delphi more or less clearly in mind.

With these general statements, ranging in date from Callimachus to the scholia on the *Aeneid*, have been combined a multitude of concrete cases lying between limits far earlier and later, and on the results have been based the widely divergent views of many scholars, from the enthusiastic acceptance of Grote⁶ and Curtius⁷ to the critical attitude of Holm,⁸ Busolt,⁹ Pöhlmann,¹⁰ and Hiller von Gaertringen,¹¹

¹ ὅτι ἐκινδύνευσεν μὲν ἀνολίκετος εἶναι γῆ πᾶσα, εἰ μὴ τὰ μαντεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ πανταχοῦ δὴ γῆς ἐξεφοίτησε παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐκ Μιλήτου, κτλ. This fear of leaving a place wild and uninhabited appears a little farther on in the same passage (Walz, p. 328).

² *Contra Celsum* 8. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, 8. 46.

⁴ *Ad Aen.* 3. 88.

⁵ Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 9: ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε μαντεῖαις ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλὰ μὲν ἀναστάσεις καὶ μετοικισμοὶ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων πολλὰ δὲ βαρβαρικῶν στρατιῶν, κτλ. Ps.-Lucian *De astrolog.* 23: ὅπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἰδόντες μάλιστα μαντηρίῃσιν ἐχρέοντο καὶ οὐ πάρεργον αὐτῇν ἐποίουντο, ἀλλ' οὔτε πόλιας ᾤκισον οὔτε τείχεα περιβάλλοντο οὔτε φόνους ἐργάζοντο οὔτε γυναῖκας ἐγάμεον, πρὶν ἂν δὴ παρὰ μάντεων ἀκούσαι ἕκαστα, κτλ.

⁶ *History of Greece*, chap. i: "he [i.e., Apollo] is moreover the guide and stimulus to Grecian colonization, scarcely any colony ever being sent out without encouragement and direction from the oracle at Delphi; Apollo Archagetès is one of his great surnames."

⁷ II, chap. 4 (Eng. tr. [1888] II, 49-50); cf. Raoul-Rochette, *Histoire critique de l'établissement des colonies grecques* (1815), I, 53 ff., whose attitude is reasonably cautious.

⁸ *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 278, 293 ff. (Eng. tr., I, 244-45).

⁹ *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 678: "Man darf nicht glauben, dass das delphische Heiligtum der hellenischen Kolonisation die Bahnen vorgezeichnet hat."

¹⁰ *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.* (5th ed.), pp. 47, 55 (with notes 3 and 4); n. 4 fin.: "Von einer förmlichen Leitung der Kolonisation, wie sie z. B. Curtius annimmt, kann keine Rede sein, da das delphische Orakel erst im 7. Jahrhundert eine panhellenische Bedeutung gewann. Die angeblichen Orakelsprüche, welche die Koloniegründungen auf Delphi zurückführen, sind meist Erfindungen ex eventu."

¹¹ In Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2535-36 (s.v. "Delphi").

or the even more condemnatory silence of Beloch.¹ Upon a subject so often discussed it is unlikely that much new light will be shed; but since I have recently had occasion to collect a considerable number of colonization oracles, I have been tempted to re-examine the question a little in detail.

It should be remembered that the utterances of the Delphic oracle, like some other expressions of divine will, might be profoundly influenced by the wording of the questions submitted to it, as is well shown by Xenophon's famous question of the oracle and the criticism of it by Socrates, as told in the *Anabasis*.² Consequently our views of the effect of Delphi upon colonization will be much modified according as we judge whether the oracle was asked by intending colonists where they should settle or merely asked by them to approve their settlement in some locality already selected.

In addition to this double possibility in the form of the questions there is variety in the forms of answers ascribed to the oracle itself. We have, first, direct answers, in which the place to be settled is clearly mentioned by name or described in unmistakable terms. Secondly, there are what may be called conditional answers, in which, usually, no definite locality is named but the colonists are directed to found their town at the place where some particular thing shall occur. A third class may be called ambiguous oracles, in which, with or without conditional elements, the oracle as worded may be understood in more than one sense—sometimes in two widely divergent interpretations. In the past these three groups have not always been carefully differentiated, though it should be clear that arguments applying to one group will not necessarily hold for another.

Let us, then, briefly review the oracles, noting, first, the gods by whom they are given, next, the two types of question, and, thirdly, the three types of answer. We shall then be in a better position to consider the different theories.

1. Cicero, in the passage with which I began,³ mentions three oracles—Delphi, Dodona, and Ammon—as having actively influenced colonization. The placing of these three on a level is censured by Holm, who says, "Moreover Cicero's words do not bear out the vast importance ascribed to Delphi, as they place it on a level with

¹ In his *Gr. Gesch.*

² *Anab.* 3. 1. 5-7.

³ *De div.* 1. 3.

Dodona and the Libyan Oasis. If Dodona and Ammon could achieve as much as Delphi, then the achievement was nothing more than a formality."¹ The great majority of the cases I have collected ascribe the oracle to Delphi or to Apollo by name. Not a few refer to *ὁ θεός* as the source,² but here, in the absence of qualification, we are probably justified in assuming Apollo of Delphi, the supreme prophetic god, as meant. Oracles of this sort from Dodona are mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus³ in the case of the Pelasgi (who had probably resorted to Dodona as being near where they were staying) and⁴ in the case of Aeneas, who consulted it when he landed at Buthrotum, near by. Pausanias⁵ and Suidas⁶ mention an oracle from Dodona to the Athenians, and Stephanus of Byzantium⁷ one to Galeotes and Telmessus. Other sources of such oracles are the Sibyl,⁸ Apollo at Miletus (Branchidae),⁹ at Clarus,¹⁰ Grynean Apollo,¹¹ the *Lyctiae sortes*,¹² and Apollo at Delos,¹³ these three latter instances coming, not from Greek authors, but from chance revivals or possibly inventions in Virgil. A certain prophetess (*fatidica*) is said to have foretold to Evander a place of settlement,¹⁴ and several cases of the foundations of towns are said to have been due to dreams. Thus accounted for are the origins of Alexandria,¹⁵ the later city of Smyrna,¹⁶

¹ *Gesch. Gr.*, loc. cit. I quote from the English translation, I, 244, n. 9.

² Hdt. 7. 170; Diod. 4. 29. 1; Dion. Hal. 19. 3. 1; Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 9. 2; Paus. 7. 3. 1; Plut. *Aetia Graeca* 13; 15; *id. De Pyth. orac.* 27; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 848; Schol. Ar. *Nubes* 133; Strab. 6. 262, 278; Zenob. 1. 57; 5. 74; Ephorus ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αλκίς; Steph. Byz. s.v. Θανάτεια; *Paroem. Gr.* ii. 370, No. 33; 421, No. 96. Much more vague is the expression: *κατά τι λόγιον ἀποικίαν ἀπέστειλεν*, in Diod. 5. 54. 4; cf. *κατά τι θεοπρόπιον* (Zonar. 7. 1).

³ 1. 18.

⁴ Dion. Hal. i. 51; cf. i. 55, which indicates some doubt as to the source of the oracle about the eating of the tables: *ἦν γὰρ τι θέσφατον αὐτοῖς, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ γενόμενον, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐν ἐρυθρῇ χέρσῳ τῆς Ἰδης, ἔνθα ὤκει Σίβυλλα ἐπιχωρία νύμφη χρησμοδότος, ἣ αὐτοῖς ἔφρασε πλεῖν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἡλίου, κτλ.*

⁵ 8. 11. 12.

¹⁰ Paus. 7. 5. 3.

⁶ S.v. 'Αντίβας.

¹¹ Virg. *Aen.* 4. 345.

⁷ S.v. Γαλιῶναι.

¹² *Ibid.* 4. 346, 4. 377.

⁸ See n. 4, *supra*.

¹³ *Ibid.* 3. 85 ff.

⁹ Menand. *Rhet. loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 273.

¹⁵ Plut. *Alex.* 26; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αλεξάνδρεια.

¹⁶ Paus. 7. 5. 1-2. For a representation of this scene on a coin of Smyrna see Head, *Historia numorum*, 2d ed., p. 594.

Laodicea, Nysa, and Antiochia.¹ Of these cases some are perhaps late inventions ascribing to other oracular seats what customarily belonged to Delphi, but besides these enough still remain to indicate that Delphi could hardly claim any exclusive privilege. Aside from Cicero's words I have found no evidence for Ammon, and it is not impossible that Cicero has added its name simply as that of a famous oracle often mentioned in connection with the other two,² and to furnish a rhetorical group of three, without any definite knowledge on his part of a tradition linking it with Greek colonization. Its inaccessibility would also have made consultation difficult.

2. As to the types of question asked there is in most cases no evidence. Occasionally there are indications that the oracle was questioned after a site had been selected by the questioners. Thus, according to Thucydides,³ the Lacedaemonians in 426 B.C. thought that Heraclea Trachinia would be a convenient military stronghold and set out to found a town there. First they consulted the god at Delphi, and when he bade them settle they sent colonists from their own number and from the Perioeci and any other Greeks who wished to go, except Ionians, Achaeans, and certain other races. When Alexander proposed a relocation of the city of Smyrna the inhabitants of the existing city consulted the oracle at Clarus and obtained a favorable reply before complying with his wish.⁴ Traditionally of the contrary sort are the cases in which commands for colonization

¹ Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αντιόχεια, Λαοδικεία. Such dreams on the part of Aeneas are also related (Diod. 7. 3. 5; Origo gent. rom. 12. 5).

² Ar. Aves 716; Plat. Legg. 5. 738c; for those mentioned, in addition to others, in stock lists of oracles, see Max. Tyr. 14. 1; 41. 1; Orig. Contra Celsum. 7. 3; Athanas. De incarnat. 47; cf. F. Jaeger, *De oraculis quid veteres philosophi iudicaverint*, Munich, 1910, p. 22, n. 2. For rhetorical groups of three cf. Plin. Ep. 2. 20. 9.

³ 3. 92. Diodorus (12. 59. 3-5), who gives a somewhat similar account, makes no mention of any consultation of the oracle. So Dorieus, after an initial failure in colonization ascribed to his having omitted to consult the oracle, questions the god *εἰ αἰεὶ ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώραν* (Hdt. 5. 42).

⁴ Paus. 7. 5. 1-2. Epaminondas, before the foundation of Messene (Paus. 4. 27. 5), having already determined on its site, *ἐκέλευεν ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς μάντεσιν εἰ βουλῆσεται ταῦτη καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρῆσαι. φημένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἰσία, οὕτω παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμόν, κτλ.* No weight should be attached to the statement of Diodorus, 8. 29. 1: *ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ καὶ Βάττος κτεῖραι βουλευόμενος Κυρήνην ἔλαβε χρησμὸν οὕτως*, for not only from this account but also from others (Hdt. 4. 150-56; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27) it seems clear that Battus is not thought of as having previously determined upon a site, but, on the contrary, as having had difficulty in identifying the one prescribed by the oracle.

are given to those represented as having consulted the oracle about other matters and not having in mind the establishment of colonies. To Heracles after his labors;¹ to Cadmus inquiring about Europa;² to Alcmaeon seeking purification after the murder of his mother;³ to the contemporaries of Orestes inquiring about averting pestilence and sterility of the fields;⁴ to the Boeotians in a similar case;⁵ to Battus trying to remedy his stammering;⁶ to Myscellus asking how to obtain children;⁷ and to the Heraclidae⁸ and Lacijs and Antiphemus⁹ inquiring about entirely different matters, came oracles enjoining colonization or change of residence. In other instances the initiative traditionally came from the god.¹⁰ The inquirers are sometimes groups—cities, bands of exiles, families—and often individuals, usually the *οἰκιστής*.¹¹

3. The types of answer may next be considered. It must here be recognized that even if one should grant, for the sake of argument, the general authenticity of the answers reported, it must yet be admitted that the accounts of them are constantly incomplete, since

¹ Diod. 4. 29. 1.

² Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 4. 1; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2. 494.

³ Thuc. 2. 102; Paus. 8. 24. 8-9; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 7; 5. 3 ff.; Schol. Lucian *Deorum concil.* 12 (pp. 212-13, Rabe).

⁴ Schol. Vat. Eur. *Rhes.* 250.

⁵ Justin. 16. 3. 3.

⁶ Hdt. 4. 150, 155, and Macan's note on 155; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 10. But J. J. Schubring (*De Cypselo Corinthiorum tyranno*, Göttingen, 1862, pp. 30-31) argues that Aristoteles (which we are told was his real name—Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1253, calls it Aristeus) took the title of Battus (the Libyan word for "king"), and that to explain its likeness to the Greek word for "stammerer" the oracle was invented. In this suggestion Schubring is followed by Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 96-97. A reference in Heracl. Pontic. *De rebus publ.* 4. 1 (*FHG*, II, 212) should also be cited here.

⁷ Diod. 8. 17.

⁸ Isocr. *Archidamus* 17: ὁ δὲ θεὸς περὶ μὲν ὧν ἐπηρώτησαν οὐκ ἀνείλεν, ἐκέλευε δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν λέναι χώραν.

⁹ Steph. Byz. s.v. Γέλα.

¹⁰ Cf. Hdt. 7. 170. In the case of Myscellus (Diod. 8. 17; Strabo 6. 262), when the oracle had bidden him found Croton, he, admiring the region of Sybaris, preferred to build there instead, and it was necessary for the god to reprove him in a second oracle.

¹¹ Cf. Aristides *Paneg. in Cyzico* 237. In an important inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander both the colonists and the oecist make separate inquiries of the god. See O. Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros*. The inscription is also found in Kern's *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, No. 17; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, No. 855.

only such parts of the tradition are cited as suit the immediate purpose of the writer who happens to preserve them. For various reasons it is unsafe to lay any especial weight upon those given to us in ostensibly the original words of the oracle. Yet taking the answers as they stand, under those which may be classed as direct¹ there are varying degrees of vagueness, from the ones which name only a continent² or country,³ those which name but do not otherwise describe the future city,⁴ those which give an additional characterization of its site by naming the river upon which it is to be built,⁵ an island or other natural feature,⁶ or a somewhat limited area in which it is to be situated,⁷ to the dream of Alexander instructing him to build on the spot where he was then sleeping.⁸

¹ Occasionally an answer which is mainly direct may contain additional confirmatory conditional elements, as that to the Chalcidians (Diod. 8. 23. 2), in which the Apsia River is definitely mentioned, and the additional instruction is given:

ἐνθ' εἰσω βάλλοντι τὸν ἄρσενά θῆλιν ὀπλοῖ
 εὖθι πόλιν οἰκίε, κτλ.

οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀψίαν ποταμὸν εὐρόντες ἀμπελον περιπελεγμένην ἐρυνῶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἄρσενόθην ἐκτισαν πόλιν. Cf. the founding of Tarentum (Dion. Hal. 19. 1. 4) and of Edessa (Justin. 7. 1. 7).

² One version of the founding of Cyrene (Heracl. Pont. *loc. cit.*) mentions only Libya as the destination of the colony; so even Hdt. 4. 150-51, in part of his account. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 ff., and Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27, for the perplexity of Battus in determining the site to which he was sent. But see also Schubring, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, for the improbability that the people of Thera should not have known of Libya.

³ E.g., Italy (Virg. *Aen.* 4. 345).

⁴ So Tabae in Lydia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), and the accounts of Diodorus of the founding of Cyrene (8. 29. 1) and Croton (8. 17); cf. Strabo 6. 262, 269. In Strabo 6. 257, Messenian exiles are told to settle with the Chalcidians in Rhegium (cf. Timaeus in *FHG*, I, 206-7, Nos. 64-65.) The resettlement of Troy is definitely directed (Schol. Vat. Eur. *Rhes.* 250).

⁵ Gela (Diod. 8. 23. 1); Tarentum (Dion. Hal. 19. 1. 4); Laurentum (Zonar. 7. 1); the settlement on the Apsia (Diod. 8. 23. 2); the new site of Smyrna (Paus. 7. 5. 3).

⁶ A mountain, in the Magnesia inscription, cited in p. 6, n. 11, *supra*; a floating island (Dion. Hal. 1. 18; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβοριγίδες); Ortygia and Arethusa (Paus. 5. 7. 3); geographical features of Byzantium (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βυζάντιον). This oracle is not entirely clear and it is noteworthy that its third verse, as quoted by Stephanus, appears, very slightly altered, as the fourth verse of a somewhat similar foundation oracle for New Rome (Constantinople) in *Anth. Pal.* 14. 115; cf. G. Wolff, *De novissima oraculorum aetate*, pp. 3-4. Cf. Strabo 3. 169-70, for the colonization of Gades ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας, and the uncertainty as to where that might be; finally, for a tree growing out of the grave of Idmon cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 848.

⁷ Cyprian Salamis (Eur. *Hel.* 148 ff.); Tarentum (Antiochus ap. Strabo 6. 279 and Diod. 8. 21. 3).

⁸ Paus. 7. 5. 2. Upon the exact words of the Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 273 (. . . "fatidica quae praedixisset Evandro his eum locis oportere considere") no stress should be laid.

Among conditional answers one is struck by the large number in which the condition is dependent upon the appearance or action of some animal or plant. Of such the story of Cadmus and the cow,¹ whose sinking down in weariness denoted the place for the founding of Thebes, is the most famous and possibly suggested several others.² We find a sow,³ a wild boar,⁴ wolves,⁵ foxes,⁶ deer,⁷ goats,⁸ mice,⁹ an eagle,¹⁰ white crows,¹¹ and a lark¹² among the animals appearing in such replies. As an instance of a plant may be cited the wild olive growing on the grave of Idmon, mentioned by the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius.¹³ But of more interest is a group of cases in which

¹ Eur. *Phoen.* 638 ff.; Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1180 ff.; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2. 494; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 4. 1; Hygin. 178; Ov. *Met.* 3. 6 ff.; Plut. *Sulla* 17; Paus. 9. 12. 1 (where the cow is described in some detail); Serv. *Aen.* 3. 88; Nonnus *Dionys.* 4. 289 ff.

² Ilium (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 12. 3. 1-2: ἐν ᾧ περ ἂν αὐτὴ (the cow) κλιθῇ τόπῳ), and Buthrotum (Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 293; "in eo loco ubi bos cecidit"); cf. Steph. Byz. and *Etym. Mag.*, s.v. Βουθρωτός; also *Paroem. Gr.*, II, 370, No. 33.

³ Diod. 7. 3. 4: τετράπουον αὐτῷ καθηγῆσθαι πρὸς κτίσιν πόλεως; Dion. Hal. 1. 55: ἡγεμόνα τετράποδα ποιησάμενους, ὅπου ἂν κάμῃ τὸ ζῷον; Serv. *Aen.* 3. 390: "ubi aus illa post fugam fuisset inventa."

⁴ Athen. 8. 361: ἡ ἂν ἰχθὺς δείξῃ καὶ ὅς ἀγριος ὑφηγήσεται.

⁵ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 2: ἐν ᾧ περ ἂν τόπῳ ὑπὸ ζῴων ἀγρίων ξενισθῇ, where the sequel shows the wild beasts to be wolves.

⁶ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλωπεκόννησος: ἐνθα ἂν σκύλας ἰδῶσιν ἀλώπεκος.

⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. Θυάτεια: οὗ ἂν ὁραθῇ εἰλαφος τετοξευμένη καὶ τροχάφουσα; *ibid.* s.v. Βυζάντιον: ἐνθ' ἰχθὺς εἰλαφὸς τε νομὸν βόσκουσι τὸν αὐτόν. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 115: ἐνθ' ἰχθὺς εἰλαφὸς τε νομὸν βόσκονται εἰς αὐτόν.

⁸ Solinus 9. 12; Justin. 7. 1. 7: "iussus erat ducibus capris imperium quaerere"; Porphyr. Tyrius (*FHG*, III, 690) mentions merely the oracular command to settle.

⁹ Strabo 13. 604: ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται (cf. Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 108: "ubi noctu a terrigenis oppugnatus esset"); Heracl. Pont. *De rebus pub.* 42 (*FHG*, II, 224), of a mouse, οὗ ὀφθέντος πόλιν κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐκτίσαν.

¹⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. Γαλεῶται: ὅπου τε ἂν αὐτῶν θυομένων ἀετὸς ἀρπάσῃ τὰ μηρία.

¹¹ Schol. Ar. *Nubes* 133: ἐνθα ἂν ἰδῶσι λευκὸν κόρακα; cf. Eustath. ad Hom. *Od.* 13. 408 (p. 1746, 61 ff.); Athen. 8. 361; Zenob. 3. 87 (*Paroem. Gr.*, I, 78); Apostol. 7. 96 (*Paroem. Gr.*, II, 421); Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maian-dros*; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 189. It should be noted, however, that this oracle indicates, not the place to settle, but the time to emigrate.

¹² Paus. 4. 34. 8: κέρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος . . . ἡγήσασθαι. An undescribed bird is mentioned in the Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 242: "eo loco . . . quo sagittis avem petisset." For the whole subject of animals as guides to a new home, see the important note of Frazer on Paus. 10. 6. 2, and, for ominous animals in general, L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1888.

¹³ 2. 848; cf. p. 7, n. 6.

there is an ambiguity between plant and animal life. The two most famous cases are those of the Ozolian Locrians and the city of Rhegium. Locrus was warned to settle, according to Plutarch¹ and Athenaeus,² wherever he should be bitten by a wooden dog (*ξύλινης κυνός*). The solution of this puzzle was his being pricked by a briar (*κυνόσβατος*) and settling at the place where it occurred. The Chalcidians who found Rhegium are to establish their town where the male shall be discovered married to the female.³ The answer comes when they find a vine twining around a wild fig tree. And for Tarentum a similar oracle is related.⁴ Other conditional answers are that concerning the eating of tables by the Trojans,⁵ and those in regard to Thurii,⁶ Vienne,⁷ Buneima,⁸ and various other towns.⁹ The conditional oracle described by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* 'Ιδάλιον) is plainly aetiological, for it commands the founder of Idalium to settle *δπου ἴδοι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα*. One of the company at the proper time exclaims *εἶδον, βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἥλιον*, and the town receives its name from this fact. Aetiological are also the oracles

¹ *Aetia Graeca* 15.

² 2. 70c.

³ Diod. 8. 23. 2; Dion. Hal. 19. 2. 1; Heracl. Pont. *De rebus pub.* 25. 3 (FHG, II, 219). Compare the frequent poetic use of this figure, as in Hor. *Epid.* 2. 10.

⁴ Dion. Hal. 19. 1. 4: *ἐνθ' <ἀν> ἴδωσι τράγον τῇ θαλάττῃ τέγγοντα τὸν γένειον*. The fulfilment follows: *κατά τινος ἐρινεοῦ πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης πεφυκότος ἀμπελον ἐθεάσαντο κατακεχυμένην, ἐξ ἧς τῶν ἐπιτράγων (shoots) τις καθειμένος ἤπτετο τῆς θαλάττης*. Cf. Diod. 8. 21. 3, citing the verses, and contrast p. 10, n. 6.

⁵ Virg. *Aen.* 3. 253 ff.; 7. 107 ff.; Dion. Hal. 1. 55; Strabo 13. 608; *Origo gen.* Rom. 12. 3; Lycophr. *Alex.* 1250 and schol.

⁶ Diod. 12. 10. 5-6: *δπου μέλλουσιν οἰκεῖν μέτριον ὕδωρ πίνοντες, ἀμετρὶ δὲ μᾶζαν εἶδοντες*. They find a κρήνην ὀνομαζομένην Θουρίαν, ἔχουσαν αὐλὸν χαλκὸν ἐν ἐκάλουν οἱ ἐγχώριοι μέδιμον. Cf. Zenob. 5. 19 (*Paroem. Gr.*, I, 123) where the preferable reading *μέτρῳ ὕδωρ πίνοντες* appears.

⁷ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βιεννοῖς: *δπου ἐλωδέστατον τόπον θεάσονται κατοικήσαι*.

⁸ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βούνειμα: *ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἀνδρας οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν*.

⁹ Athen. 3. 96d, c: *ἐνθα ἂν ξενίοις πρῶτον τιμηθῇ, τοὺς πῶδας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δειπνῷ παραθέντων*, which happened at Eleusis; Dion. Hal. 19. 3. 1-2; *γῆν δὲ οἰκίσεις εἰς ἣν ἂν καταχθέντες ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα μέινωσι*. This the colonists themselves arrange shall be in the territory of Tarentum. Strabo 4. 179: *ἡγεμόνι χρῆσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ παρὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος λαβοῦσι*. A dream further explains that they are to take ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀθαρα, Ἀλιεῖς; *id. s.v.* Γέλα (quoting Aristaeetus) speaks of two brothers who are bidden to go *πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου* and *ἐφ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν*.

dealing with Argilus in Thrace,¹ Buthrotum,² Halieis,³ Alopeconnessus,³ Thyatira,³ Auara,³ and Aegae.⁴

Among ambiguous answers may be included those requiring explanation before they can be used, and susceptible of more than one interpretation. This class was even in antiquity responsible for not a little of the adverse criticism of the oracles, as may be seen in an important section of Cicero's treatise *De Divinatione*,⁵ and is a class noteworthy rather for the cleverness of its logical puzzles than for the frequency of its cases. Thus we find the oracle to Phalanthus⁶ to found his city where he should see rain from a clear sky (*ὕπὸ αἰθέρα*), which is fulfilled at Tarentum by a flood of tears from his wife, whose name was Aethra. According to Pausanias⁷ the Sicilian expedition was due to an oracle from Dodona bidding the Athenians colonize "Sicelia," which they wrongly understood as the island rather than a ridge of that name near Athens. The conditional oracles which I have enumerated in which there is a confusion in form and interpretation between the animal and vegetable kingdoms are, of course, related to this group. And there are also some cases where understanding is rendered difficult, not by equivocation, but by obscurity of language, such as that in which the Heraclidae are advised to return to their ancestral land,⁸ doubtful advice because of the uncertainty as to what land is to be so considered.⁹ Alcmaeon,

¹ Heracl. Pont. *De rebus pub.* 42 (*FHG*, II, 224).

² Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 293; Steph. Byz. and *Etym. Mag.*, s.v. *Βουθρωτός*.

³ Steph. Byz. s.v.

⁴ Solinus 9. 12; cf. the story of the oracle about Gela (*Etym. Mag.* s.v.), though here the aetiological element lies in the rest of the story rather than in the words of the oracle itself, and is absent from the account as given in Diod. 8. 23. 1, and Steph. Byz. s.v. For an etymological explanation of the Battus legend see p. 6, n. 6. And in speaking of the conditional group in general I should mention a comparison suggested to me by Professor Campbell Bonner, namely, the passage in the *Odyssey* (11. 126 ff.) in which Teiresias directs Odysseus to perform certain sacrifices at a place to be identified in a manner quite characteristic of this conditional type.

⁵ 2. 115-16.

⁶ Paus. 10. 10. 6-8. And yet compare the very different oracle (due to a different tradition) given in the reference cited in p. 9, n. 4. Such inconsistencies as this have a force, not always easily measured, but cumulatively considerable, in weakening our acceptance of the oracular tradition.

⁷ 8. 11. 12; Suid. s.v. *Ἀνρίβας*.

⁸ Isocr. *Archid.* 17 ff. Is the oracle in Virg. *Aen.* 3. 94-96, perhaps influenced by this story?

⁹ *Ἄργος μὲν κατ' ἀγχιστεῖαν . . . Λακεδαίμονα δὲ κατὰ δόσιν . . . Μεσσήνην δὲ δοριδλωτὸν λεφθεῖσαν*; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 65-68.

too, was puzzled by the command to colonize a land which had not been seen by the sun and had not even been land at the time of his murder of his mother, until he discovered this place in the Echinades Islands which had recently risen from the sea.¹ The famous oracle in regard to Byzantium,² urging settlement opposite the city of the blind, appears, however, to have caused no doubt in the minds of its recipients, and additional indication of its late adaptation as an oracle comes from the ascription of the remark by Herodotus³ to Megabazus the Persian.

If we look at the oracles preserved ostensibly in their original form, neglecting such labored revivals or archaizings as those dealing with Smyrna, Laodicea, and Constantinople,⁴ and those about Dardanus,⁵ and the Pelasgi,⁶ we shall find that a considerable number are concerned with the colonies in Magna Graecia⁷ and Sicily,⁸ doubtless being derived from the histories of Antiochus of Syracuse and of Timaeus.⁹ The others which I have gathered are those for Byzantium,¹⁰ Magnesia,¹¹ Tabae in Lydia,¹² and Cyrene.¹³

One other kind of evidence must be noted, namely the indirect testimony regarding Delphi as a guide of colonization which is found

¹ See p. 6, n. 3.

² Strabo 7. 320; Tac. *Ann.* 12. 63; other references cited by J. Miller in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. "Byzantium." Plin. *N.H.* 5. 149 mentions Chalcædon as sometimes called *Caecorum oppidum*.

³ 4. 144, and see the note of Macan, who remarks that "one cannot suppose that Hdt. would have transferred an immortal witticism from the god to a barbarian."

⁴ Smyrna: Paus. 7. 5. 1-3; Laodicea: Steph. Byz. s.v.; Constantinople: *Anth. Pal.* 14. 115.

⁵ Dion. Hal. 1. 68.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1. 18; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αβοργίνες.

⁷ Croton: Diod. 8. 17; Zenob. 3. 42; Suid. s.v. 'Αρχίας. Apsia: Diod. 8. 23. 2; Tarentum: see p. 9, n. 4, and p. 10, n. 6.

⁸ Gela: Diod. 8. 23. 1; Syracuse: Paus. 5. 7. 3; cf. Suid. s.v. 'Αρχίας.

⁹ E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II (1893), sec. 285; cf. p. 14, n. 3.

¹⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. Βυζάντιον.

¹¹ See p. 6, n. 11.

¹² Steph. Byz. s.v.

¹³ Hdt. 4. 150 ff.; Diod. 8. 29. 1; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 10a. Against the genuineness of this tradition see p. 6, n. 6, and p. 7, n. 2. Yet F. Benedict, *De oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis*, Bonn, 1871, who arranges very clearly the successive oracles dealing with the foundation of Cyrene, believes that the second (bidding the Therans to colonize Libya) may really have been given. The oracle dealing with Tegea (Steph. Byz. s.v.) should hardly be classed with colonization oracles.

in numerous inscriptions and other references¹ to Apollo with the title Archegetes and similar epithets.² These are in some instances found for towns for which there is literary tradition of a colonization oracle, as well as for many in which such literary data are lacking. In addition, beyond the statements which we can control, it may be supposed that some of the numerous cities named for Apollo³ and the temples in which he appears without an epithet or with some other epithet than those here noted bear testimony to this same theory of his influence on colonization.⁴

Having reviewed the evidence, let us pass to a consideration of its meaning. The three main questions which occur to the mind are these: (a) Are any of the oracles preserved to us authentic, i.e., actually given to colonists before their emigration? (b) If not, is there any proof that the Delphic oracle really influenced colonization, and in what way did it do so? (c) To what motives may be ascribed the manufacture of oracles, if we should find any of such a kind?

a) We must at the outset adopt the only rational view, that, barring the negligible element of chance coincidences, those oracles in which historic facts are foretold with exactness and detail are to

¹ S. P. Lampros, *De conditorum coloniarum Graecarum indole praemiisque et honoribus*, Leipzig, 1873, 11 ff.; Farnell, *Greek Cults*, IV, 374 ff. And cf. the passage quoted in p. 1, n. 3. Of inscriptional and numismatic material there is much, which need not be repeated, from the collections of Lampros and Farnell. It concerns the following cities (F=Farnell, Vol. IV; L=Lampros): Aegina, F. 367, n. 34d; Alaea, F. 375, n. 69; Apollonia (Epirus), F. 375, n. 74a; Attaleia, F. 375, n. 65; Calymna, F. 375, n. 70; Cyrene, Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 56 ff.; F. 375, n. 74c; Cyzicus, Aristides *Paneg. in Cyzico* 237; F. 375, n. 67a; Enna, L. 14, n. 3; Erythrae, F. 375, n. 65; Halicarnassus, F. 375, n. 68; Hierapolis (Phrygia), F. 375, n. 66; Ilium, F. 374, n. 63; Lycia, F. 375, n. 71; Megara, F. 374, n. 64; Naxos, Thuc. 6. 3. 1; Appian 5. 109; F. 375, n. 69; Rhegium, L. 13, n. 2; South Russia, F. 375, n. 72; Talmis (Nubia), L. 16, n. 5; Tauromenium, F. 375, n. 69; Telmessus, F. 375, n. 67; Thurii, F. 375, n. 74b. For certain other more indirect evidences see Lampros, pp. 16-20.

² The epithets of Apollo in these passages are: ἀρχηγέτης, ἀρχηγός, δωματίτης, ἡγεμών, κτίστης, οἰκιστής, προηγέτης, προκαθηγεμών. Should the passage in Plutarch *De Pyth. orac.* 16 be referred here? ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον [sc. ἐπαίνῳ] Ἑρετριεὺς καὶ Μάγνητας, ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησάμενοι τὸν θεόν, ὡς καρπῶν δοτῆρα καὶ πατρῶν καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, κτλ.; cf. Oehler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, I, Sp. 2826 init. (s.v. Ἀποικία).

³ Roscher, *Lexicon*, I, 441, thinks that some of the twenty-five Apollonias mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium were probably named for this reason.

⁴ Compare also the tithes (χρυσοῦν θέρος) sent by certain cities to Delphi (Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, III, 133-34; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX [1895], 182, and n. 2; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 16).

be considered as composed after the events which they predict.¹ By this principle the large class of conditional oracles must be rejected, since the movements of animals and the growth of plants could obviously not be foretold. Incidentally, such oracles fail to give directions sufficiently definite to admit of application.² Had any considerable number of conditional answers ever been given, the reputation of the oracle as a helpful and practical agency would have been very effectually ruined. Even in their most unsophisticated days, in matters of such importance, men could hardly have been expected to turn to Delphi unless from past experience they had gained the expectation of real assistance there. The ambiguous oracles are perhaps a trifle less open to question, at least in cases where they contain no conditional element, yet even of the few of these known to us almost none is free from suspicion. Those to the Heraclidae and to Alcmaeon fall in the realm of the mythical or legendary; that about Byzantium was originally a mere human remark;³ the "rain from a clear sky" has a distinct conditional element; and the colonization of "Sicily"⁴ appears suspiciously like a companion piece invented by some one to match the account of the death of Hannibal on "Libyan" soil, which is narrated in close connection with it. Of the plain answers, on the other hand, freed from conditional elements, and excluding late revivals in Virgil⁵ and the *Palatine Anthology*⁶ and such mythical cases as that of the Cyprian Salamis,⁷ there seems to be a residuum which it might have fallen within the physical power of the oracle to declare.⁸ To direct an

¹ Henss, *Untersuchungen über die Echtheit einiger delphischer Orakel*, Guben, 1882, p. 1.

² Seldom, moreover, do they reveal that remarkable acquaintance with foreign lands that some modern writers have ascribed to the Pythian priesthood. Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27, speaks of the difficulties connected with oracles in general: τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε πολλὴν ἔδει μνήμην παρῆναι. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐφράζετο καὶ τόπων σημεῖα καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ διαποντίων καὶ ἡρώων ἀπόρρητοι θῆκαι καὶ δυσεξέρετοι μακρὰν ἀπαιροῦσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

³ See p. 11, n. 3.

⁴ See p. 7, n. 6.

⁵ See p. 10, n. 7.

⁶ See p. 7, n. 7.

⁷ See p. 7, n. 3.

⁸ Even here we must note the warning of E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II (1893), sec. 285, note: "Alle Orakel sind von der sehr begreiflichen, aber historisch absurden Anschauung beherrscht, dass der Gott dem ahnungslosen Oekisten befiehlt, nach der Stelle zu ziehn, wo er und seine Nachkommen prosperiren werden." The

emigrant to a definite place, without predicting, in any very explicit way, what would befall him when he reached it, surely required a well-informed rather than a superhumanly wise intelligence.¹ This is not to assert that the oracles ostensibly preserved to us in meter² are authentic in form, for that they are largely later inventions is so generally agreed³ as to need no especial discussion.⁴ Yet that there should have been so large a fabrication without some historic basis seems improbable, especially in view of the additional evidence from the widespread traditions I have mentioned in regard to Apollo Archegetes. Finally, Thucydides is witness to the historic fact of the consultation of the oracle by the Spartans at the founding of the Trachinian Heraclea in 426 B.C.⁵

b) The explanation of these facts must be sought, I believe, as others have sought it, along the line of the confirmatory oracle. That

view of F. Benedict, *De oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis*, Bonn, 1871, p. 37, is that most oracles about foundations are spurious, either containing prodigies by which the place is to be recognized or a description of the place so exact as to be clearly referable to the period after the place had been settled. "Genuina eiusmodi oracula ea tantum haberi possunt, quibus deus nihil iubet nisi urbem certo quodam loco condi fortasse nomine quoque addito, quod coloniae imponatur." Cf. p. 39, and pp. 37-39, for the oracles he considers as genuine, as having a genuine base later reworked, or as false.

¹ Even in this class there are, of course, suspicious oracles, to be rejected. Such are probably the antithetical pairs promising health and wealth to the settlers of Croton and Syracuse respectively (Strabo 6. 269; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Συράκουσαι*; Suid. s.v. *Ἀρχίλας*) and simultaneously sending the founders of Gela and Telmessus to the sun's rising and setting (Steph. Byz. s.vv. *Γέλα*, *Γαλιῶται*. The *Etym. Mag.*, s.v. *Γέλα*, gives only one half of this pair.).

² See p. 11, nn. 5-13.

³ E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II (1893), sec. 285: "Früh sind daher Orakelsprüche in Umlauf gekommen, welche den Oekisten gegeben sein sollen; Herodot und Antiochos von Syracus haben viele von ihnen bewahrt, ihnen folgt namentlich Timaeos (bei Diodor zum Theil erhalten), während Ephoros mit besserem geschichtlichen Verständniss sie meist bei Seite liess. Historisch ist keins dieser Orakel; vielfach sind sie aus den späteren Schicksalen der Colonie zurecht gemacht." Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.*, 5th ed., p. 47; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 2d ed., I, 677; Holm, *Gesch. Gr.*, chap. 19, sec. 9 (Eng. tr., I, 245); Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 190 ff.

⁴ Doubts as to the authenticity of extant oracles on stylistic and other grounds began as early as antiquity. Cf. Cic. *De div.* 2. 116; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 5 f. Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XXX, 192), speaking of the inscription from Magnesia, says, "Orakel zu verfertigen war leichter für einen magnetischen Localantiquar als dorisch zu schreiben." The date of this inscription is about 200 B.C., and the date of the oracular verses it contains only a little older (Wilamowitz, p. 194). And see Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 98, against the genuineness of the Battus oracles.

⁵ 3. 92.

the consultation of Delphi was not a merely gratuitous act but rather a formal or conventional rite is well indicated by Herodotus,¹ who censures the neglect of Dorieus to consult Delphi as to where he should go, or to do any of the other customary things, and a little later indicates that his disobedience to a subsequent oracle led to his failure and death. Now, that the oracle should have been consulted, perhaps regularly, for the purpose of obtaining favorable predictions or a blessing before the founding of a colony, as before any other act of importance, is both easily credible and highly probable, and bears some resemblance to traditional customs in Italy.² That the approval of the god may have been sought not only for the place of settlement but also for the person of the founder is shown by an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander³ describing the founding of that town, although generally the founder was apparently already chosen (sometimes self-chosen) and is often spoken of as the one who consults the oracle.⁴ Those who came to Delphi for advice

¹ 5. 42 f.: ὁ Δωριεύς . . . αἰτήσας λαὸν Σπαρτιήτας ἄγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρησθηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἐγ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων. It is by no means clear that Plato (*Legg.* 6. 759c; 828a) includes the foundation of colonies as an event in which the oracle should intervene, but the approval of the colony's laws and the regulation of some of its religious ceremonies was to be derived thence.

² Raoul-Rochette, *Histoire de l'établissement des colonies grecques*, I, 54; Cic. *Phil.* 2. 40. But the divination in Italy is usually employed immediately before the founding of the town, rather than at so long an interval in advance.

³ Cited in p. 6, n. 11. The relevant part follows: ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ τίς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ καθηγγησόμενος ἡμῖν καὶ πόθεν, ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν.—

Ἔστι τις ἐν τεμένει Γλαύκου γένος ἀλκιμος ἀνὴρ
ὃς γ' ἡμῖν πρότιστα ἐπιέζεται ἀντιβολήσας
νῆδ' ἐμὸν προλιποῦσι· τὸ γὰρ πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.
οὗτος καὶ δείξει χέρσου πολὺν πυρον ἄρουραν.

They apply to Leucippus, and he consults the god on his own behalf and obtains this reply:

στέλλ' ἐπὶ Παμφύλῳ κόλπον, Λεύκιππε, φέροπλον
λαὸν ἄγωμ' ἄγωνα Μάγνητα δημοσύγγονον, ὡς ἂν ἴκειαι
Θώρηκος σκόπελον καὶ Ἀμανθίου αἰκὴν ῥέεθρον
καὶ Μυκάλης ὄρος αἰκὴν Ἀπεναντίον Ἐνδυμῶνος
ἐνθα δὲ Μανδρόλτου δῆμον δλθιοὶ οἰκήσουσιν
Μάγνητες πολλοῖσιν περικτιόνεσσιν ἀγητοί.

I have quoted these lines (without noting slight restorations) as being our most important single bit of epigraphical evidence bearing upon the subject under discussion. For the relation of the Magnesians to Delphi cf. also Athen., p. 173. That the epithet "Agyieus," or "god of ways," may have contributed to the consultation of Apollo by those intending to colonize, as Farnell (*Greek Cults*, IV, 202) suggests, appears to me unlikely, since this epithet belongs to him rather as god of streets.

⁴ Cf. Oehler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, I, Sp. 2825, s.v. Ἀποικία.

found there priests who, by reason of conversations with the visitors to the shrine, were no doubt rather well informed as to conditions—geographical, social, political, and commercial—in various parts of the Mediterranean world, and in a position to impart not a little intelligence of value. But here the zeal of some scholars has perhaps led them too far, as in the case of Curtius,¹ who says:

The topographical knowledge of the priests was so accurate that they were always able to ascribe the ill-success of a colony, for which it was endeavored to make them responsible, to a misunderstanding or disobedience of the divine words. . . . It cannot have been but that in the plans of the oracle all shipping news was very accurately preserved in writing, that the results of all new voyages were placed side by side, and that it was endeavored by means of maps of the different countries to understand the situation of the coast-lines already occupied, as well as of those still vacant and suited for settlements. Such attempts had been frequently made at the priestly centers of ancient geographical knowledge, before at Miletus the art of cartography was developed, and Anaximander introduced tabular maps of the earth into the circle of physical science.

This view of the systematic gathering of news and of Delphi as a "well-trained emigration agency,"² has, however, been much qualified by later scholars.³ Evelyn Abbott⁴ imagines the probable care of the priests in concealing the sources of their knowledge—

as by this means the possession of it became the more surprising. Great indeed must have been the astonishment of the wandering mariner when he discovered that his divine guide was acquainted with the local peculiarities of the place selected for the colony to a degree which required a personal knowledge of the country.

But may we not perhaps reply that to the believing consultant the divine omniscience would have been hardly surprising, while the unbeliever (had there been such) would either not have consulted the oracle at all, or, if he had, would have directed his wonder toward the human mouthpieces of the divinity? Nor does Abbott sufficiently emphasize the fact that the oracles which might have been

¹ *History of Greece*, II, chap. 4 (Eng. tr. II, 49-50). And Bouché-Leclercq (*Histoire de la divination*, III, 132) speaks in similar words.

² C. W. C. Oman, *Hist. of Greece*, 5th ed., pp. 92-93.

³ Notably Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 2d ed., I, 678, and n. 2 (where a good bibliography is given); Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.*, 5th ed., p. 55, n. 4; Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2535, s.v. "I. Delphoi."

⁴ *Hist. of Greece*, I, 362.

given in advance, namely, the plain and direct answers, do not, so far as we can control them, seem to presuppose any superhuman intelligence, while those in which there appears some remarkable coincidence or unusual local knowledge are by that very fact exposed to the rationalizing suspicion of being oracles after the event.

Another element affecting the case is the theory that the oracles more or less frankly confirmatory were not merely intended to guide the settler but also to act as a sort of charter or deed to the land occupied. This view is well set forth by Holm,¹ who remarks that the oracle taken by a colonizing expedition "legitimized the undertaking and gave it a privileged position as regards others—always subject, however, to the proviso that the true meaning of the oracle was discovered." And Holm further compares the pronouncements of Pope Alexander VI legalizing the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. That colonists settling in lands already partly occupied (as in Magna Graecia) sometimes found difficulty in maintaining their position there is little doubt,² and at least one ancient account, though dealing with facts of rather shadowy historical character, yet seems to reflect this feeling, when Dionysius of Halicarnassus³ represents the Aborigines as permitting the settlement of the Pelasgians only after they had learned of the oracle to the latter people bidding them to settle in a certain definite place. That the Spartans within historic times used or tried to use this legalizing character of the oracle to strengthen their claims to disputed land in Greece itself appears probable from several passages.⁴ Abbott suggests⁵ that "the priests at Delphi claimed a right of possession in the whole world beyond the limits of Hellas. In their eyes property did not exist, except among the Greeks." For this view he offers no evidence, and the appearance of the word *διδωμι* in some of the extant oracles⁶ is perhaps hardly more than a form, occurring in other kinds of oracles also.⁷ Yet even

¹ *Gr. Gesch.*, chap. 19 (Eng. tr., I, 245, n. 9).

² G. Diesterweg, *De iure coloniarum Graecarum*, Berlin, 1865, p. 10.

³ I. 20. Perhaps compare also the first part of the Magnesia inscription.

⁴ E.g., Isocr. *Archid.* 17 ff.; Hdt. 1. 66; Thuc. 3. 92; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τεγέα*. And cf. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2535, s.v. "Delphoi," for the attempts to control the oracle as evidence of its influence.

⁵ *Hist. of Greece*, I, 361.

⁶ Hdt. 1. 66; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τεγέα*; Diod. 8. 23. 2; Strabo 6. 279.

⁷ Cf. Hendess, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

with considerable qualification of Abbott's statement it is not hard to recognize the importance of such legitimizing power. It may be remarked in passing that for purposes of legitimization an oracle which clearly named and described the promised land would be of greater value—because bringing greater conviction—than one which did not, just as with deeds of property at the present day; while an ambiguous one, on account of the doubt as to its proper fulfilment, and a conditional one, because of the vague, transitory, or sometimes deliberately creatable character of its fulfilment, would have carried the least permanent conviction to hostile previous occupants of the soil. Of the oracles preserved ostensibly in their original form (i.e., in meter) I have found none entirely free from any mention of geographical features; that is, purely conditional.

In addition to the desire for good omens and the desire for legitimization a third motive may well have led to the consultation of oracles, namely, the wish to secure instructions as to the introduction of forms of worship into the new colony¹ and to obtain the religious advice and interest of the priests of one of the most powerful and centralized Hellenic cults and the protection of its deity. That definite inquiry about such matters was thought of as forming a regular part of the consultation by intending colonists is indicated by Dionysius.² To a new state, without history and traditions gained from its own soil, either religious or political, the connection, through the worship of Apollo Archegetes or of other gods prescribed by the Pythia,³ with the ceremonial and mythological wealth of Hellas itself could hardly fail to be stimulating. And from the viewpoint of the oracle itself the political opportunities⁴ offered for keep-

¹ Plat. *Legg.* 6. 759c; 8. 828a. A little of such advice is given in the traditional oracle to Dardanus (Dion. Hal. 1. 68):

εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίσῃσθα θεοῖς σέβας ἀφθιτον αἰεὶ
θεῖναι, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυλαῖς τε χοροῖς τε
ἔστ' ἂν γὰρ τάδε σεμνά καθ' ὑμετέραν χθόνα μίμνη
δῶρα Δῶτι κούρης ἀλόχῳ σέθεν, ἣ δὲ πόλις σοι
ἔσται ἀπόρρητος τὸν δὲ χρόνον ἡμᾶτα πάντα.

² 1. 68: διαμαντεύμενον δὲ [sc. τὸν Δάρδανον] περὶ τῆς οἰκῆσεως τὰ τε ἄλλα μαθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς φυλακῆς τόνδε τὸν χρησμὸν λαβεῖν, κτλ.

³ In connection with the dedications in colonies to Apollo, Busolt (*Gr. Gesch.* 2d ed., I, 678, n. 2) somewhat fancifully suggests that such dedications may have reference to his character as god of war and of the spring (when colonies were usually sent out).

⁴ Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.*, 5th ed., p. 47.

ing in touch with the outposts of Greek civilization, and, from the mercenary side, the returns in tithes¹ from the colonies over which some control could be asserted, furnished an ample recompense.

c) Some of these same reasons doubtless prompted the subsequent forgery of oracles. The desire for good omens applied only to the founding itself, but the wish to legitimize it, especially in cases of controversy,² might at any time arise, and the desire to consecrate the origins of colonies and cities and to refer them to the gods as originators, as Livy says,³ would increase with the growing pride and dignity of the town. On the part of the priests, the chance to obtain tithes, with the development and increasing wealth of a settlement, would furnish a standing motive for asserting any claims that might antedate its founding. At a time when no needs of actual legitimization were involved, and when the oracle was no longer consulted to any great extent for purposes of colonization, conditional and ambiguous oracles might be very striking and effectual for such an end, and to such a period I believe they must mainly be ascribed. The indirect methods by which the priesthood at Delphi circulated such traditions we cannot control, for their tracks were, of course, carefully covered; but modern scholars have been ready to suspect their influence upon Herodotus, Antiochus of Syracuse, Timaeus,⁴ and even Ephorus.⁵ Once let the theory become established, as it was, apparently, by the time of Herodotus, that the seeking of advice from the oracle was the normal method, and local historians and antiquarians would naturally, unaided or in consultation with

¹ Farnell, *Greek Cults*, IV, 204; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, III, 133-34.

² Cf. p. 17, n. 4. And Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XXX, 191) advances evidence for thinking that the motive for the foundation story in the Magnesia inscription was to secure special privileges for the city from the powerful Cretan sea-rovers, by emphasizing a former residence of the Magnesians in Crete.

³ 1. Praef. 7.

⁴ A. von Gutschmid, *Kl. Schriften*, IV, 150 ff., 159 ff. (*Index fontium Herodoti*); Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, 284-85; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II, sec. 285; cf. Macan, edition of Herodotus, Books 4-6, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 285; Hiller von Gaertrigen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2522, s.v. "Delphoi." E. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, makes an exception of Ephorus, however. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, III, 131, n. 2: "L'oracle refit, à son point de vue, l'histoire de la colonisation, et l'on finit par trouver, à l'origine des métropoles elles-mêmes, l'inévitable *χρησμός* qui en détermine la fondation." Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 182.

Delphi,¹ see that fitting oracles were not lacking in the cases of those towns in which they were interested.² If by the same process an etymology could be furnished for the name of the colony a double end would be attained.³ The projecting of such inventions back into the period of legend would have been a task obviously neither distasteful nor difficult.

To sum up, then, we may say that a closer examination reveals the impossibility of a large number of the oracles extant ever having been delivered before the events to which they relate; but nothing prevents us from supposing that the oracle was formally consulted to obtain confirmation of previously selected sites and leaders of colonies, and for directions as to the cults to be introduced. This service was recognized by the colonies in dedications to Apollo Archegetes and by tithes, and thereupon several motives, sentimental, mercenary, and etymological, on the part of the colonists, the priests, and the historians, led to the invention of an increasingly imposing mass of legend which forms the bulk, if not all, of the extant oracles in meter, and which may occasionally drag into discredit oracles which possess some historic basis.⁴

¹ Delphic records are mentioned by Plut. *Solon* 11. 2: τοῖς Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν. For poets in collusion with Delphi as a cause of the circulation of oracles see Schöhl, *Philologus*, X, 25-81; Benedict, *De Oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis*, Bonn, 1871, pp. 1-2.

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 192. And for a theory as to the origin of the Cyrene oracles, see Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 100.

³ See the aetiological oracles in p. 10, nn. 1-4.

⁴ The work of Götte, *Das delphische Orakel in seinem politischen und sittlichen Einfluss auf die alte Welt*, Leipzig, 1839, has not been accessible to me. Certain other passages in which examples of colonization oracles appear may here be cited, without detailed comment: Vitruv. 4. 1. 4 (thirteen Ionian cities); Diod. 5. 81. 6 (Lesbos); Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 9. 55 (Milesian colonists).

STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK¹

DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 1

NEUTERS WITH GENITIVE IN -ατος

(Exclusive of -μα, -ματος)

BY CARL D. BUCK

The great mass of neuters with genitive in -ατος consists of those in -μα, -ματος, which have already been discussed and listed, in connection with other μ-suffixes, by Stratton (Chicago) *Studies in Classical Philology* 2. 115 ff. They are clearly the Greek representatives of the IE. neuter *men*-stems, as in *ὄνομα* = Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāma*, etc., however opinions may differ as to the source of the τ-inflection, for which see references in Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Gram.* 233.

The τ-inflection also represents a neuter *n*-stem in the case of words in -αρ or -ωρ, gen. -ατος, and in some more isolated words such as *ὄψ*, *ὄψατος*, *κάρη*, *κράατος*, *κρέατεσσι*.

From these words reflecting neuter *n*-stems, especially the overwhelmingly dominant class in -μα, -ματος (over 1,000 in number), the τ-inflection spread at the expense of the minor classes of third-declension neuters, namely, to γόνυ and δόρυ (already in Homer), to those in -ας (post-Homeric), even to some in -ος, and to a few others.

-αρ or -ωρ, gen. -ατος

This class reflects a well-defined composite type (nom.-acc. in -r, other cases from an *n*-stem), which must have become established in the parent speech. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*² 2. 1. 578 ff.; also Fraenkel, *KZ.* 42. 114 ff.; Schwyzler, *KZ.* 46. 165 ff. Specific correspondence is seen in: ἦπαρ, ἦπατος with Skt. *yákṛt*, gen. *yaknás*, Avest. *yākarə*, Lat. *iecur*, *iecineris* (based on **iecinis*, like *feminis* to *femur*); ὄψαρ, ὄψατος with Skt. *údhar*, gen. *údhnás* (Lat. *über*,

¹ See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff.

ūberis, OE. *ūder*, with generalization of the *r*); *ῥῥωρ*, *ῥῥατος* with Umbr. *utur*. abl. *une* from **udne* (cf. also Skt. *uda-ka-m*, gen. *udnās*, Goth. *watō*, *watins*, OE. *wæter*, etc., with generalization of either the *n*- or the *r*-stem). The rare *σκῶρ* 'dung' is a root-noun (from IE. *sker*- 'separate'; cf. Skt. *apa-skara*- 'excrement,' Lat. *māscerda*, OE. *scearn*, 'dung,' etc.), and the inflection *σκατός*,¹ etc., is probably of analogical origin.² For *ἡμαρ*, *ἡματος*, of which Arm. *aur* 'day' is a probable cognate, the agreement in type with the synonymous, though unrelated, Skt. *āhar* 'day,' gen. *āhnas*, is significant. *ἄλειφαρ* (also *ἄλειφα*, see below, p. 27), *ἄλείφατος*, from *ἄλείφω*, is a specifically Greek derivative, formed after the analogy of some word of related meaning such as *πίαρ*.³

From the semantic point of view the IE. *r/n* type is too diverse for precise definition, but it comprises mainly words for familiar, concrete objects and divisions of time, the most noticeable feature being the number of words for parts of the body.

The following words are from *-fap*, *-fatos*: *πεῖραρ* from **περφap* (cf. Skt. *parvan*- 'knot, period'); *εἶδαρ*, Hesych. *ἔδαρ*, from **εῖδαρ* to *ἔδω*; Att. *φρέαρ*, *φρέατος*, Hom. *φρείατα*, from **φρηfap* (cf. Arm. *albiur* 'spring,' Goth. *brunna*); *δέλεαρ* from **δελεfap* (cf. *δέλευρον*, *δέλετρον*), ep. *δεῖλαρ* from **δελfap*, Aeol. *βλήρ* from **βληfap*; *στέαρ*, Att. *στέαρ*, *στέατος* from **στηfap*, **στᾶfap* (cf. Skt. *sthāvara*- 'firm'); further, though without quotable *-ap*, Hom. *ἀλείατα*, Ion. *ἀλέατα* (Miletus), from **ἀλεfap*- (cf. *ἄλευρον*); *καίατα* ὀρύγματα . ἡ τὰ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταρραγέμενα χωρία Hesych., from **καίfap*- (cf. Skt. *keṇata*- 'cave, pit').⁴

¹ Not quotable in literature except by emendation (as that of Ahrens for *σκάτους* Sophron 12 Kaibel), but amply attested by the grammarians, Phryn. 354 Rutherford; Choerob. 1. 351. 23, etc.

² Cf. Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, and Arch. f. lat. Lex. 15. 3.

³ Several words which originally belonged to this composite type have generalized the *ρ*, as *πῦρ*, *πυρός* (cf. OHG. *fuir*, Goth. *fūn*), *ἡρ* 'blood,' *ἡρος* (cf. Skt. *asṛk*, gen. *asṛds*), *ἡρ* 'spring,' *ἡρος* (cf. Skt. *vasan-tā*-), etc.; and there are many in *-ap* and *-ωρ*, some but not all inherited, which occur only in the nom.-acc. form, as *δναρ*, *πίαρ*, *ἔλωρ*, etc. These lie outside the scope of the present survey, which includes only words which actually show *r*-forms in Greek.

⁴ In Hom. *φρείατα* the *-ει-* stands for *η* (as in *δελγς*, *εἰος*, etc.), but in *ἀλέατα* it denotes metrical lengthening. Att. *φρέαρ* and *στέαρ* are of course due to quantitative metathesis. Non-Attic contraction of *ε(ρ)α* to *η* (cf. Delph., Rhod. *ἔννη* = *έννέα*, etc.), explains *δέλητα* Theocr., *δέλητι* Hesych. (cf. *δελήτιον* Sophron), *φρητι*

These words would seem to reflect a composite of the *uer-* and *uen-* suffixes, but whether such a composite is inherited from the parent speech is not so certain as in the case of *ἦπαρ*, etc. For while the close relation of these suffixes is well established (cf. *πίων*, Skt. *pīvan-*, fem. *πίεπα*, Skt. *pīvarī*), their union in one paradigm is observed elsewhere only in Avestan. Thus Avest. *karšvar-*, *karšvan-* 'zone,' *θανvar-*, *θανvan-* 'bow,' *uruθwar*, *uruθwan-* 'belly' also *snāvarə* 'sinew, cord,' occurring only in this form, but = Skt. *snāva*, stem *snāvan-*; whereas in Sanskrit the neuter *van-*stems, like the *man-*stems, have *n*-declension throughout, nom.-acc. sg. *-va*, never *-var*. It is impossible to determine whether the situation in Sanskrit is secondary, owing to a generalization of the *n*-stem at the expense of a once existing *r*-form, or whether it reflects the original habit of the IE. *uen-*stems. In the latter case the Avestan *r* will be due to the analogy of the certainly inherited forms like *yākarə*. Similarly in Greek the *-ρ* of *πεῖπαρ*, as contrasted with Skt. *parva*, may be secondary, after the analogy of *ἦπαρ*, etc., and conversely in one or another word the *-φαρ* may be inherited and the *-far-* analogical.

δνειαρ (*δνηαρ*) is obviously a Greek derivative from *dnā-*, *δνη-* (cf. *δνησις*, *δνᾶσις*). But whether it was once **δνᾶ-φαρ*, formed after the analogy of others in *-φαρ* before their loss of *f*, or was at the outset a hiatus form, as Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1913. 201, *IF.* 35. 96, prefers, cannot be determined. For words which have every appearance of being specifically Greek analogical formations exist both among the *-αρ* forms, e.g., *ἄλειφαρ*, and among the *-φαρ* forms, e.g., *εἰδαρ*.¹

In general, the type in *-ρ*, *-αρος*, not to distinguish further between *-αρ*, *-ωρ*, and *-φαρ*, enjoyed some degree of productivity in proethnic Greek.

Callim. (cf. Sicilian *φρητοῖς*), *ἄλητα* Sophron, *ἄλητων* Rhinthon, and *στήρ*, *στητός* (MSS *σπιτός*), *στηγῶδες* in medical writers. On these last cf. Solmsen, *KZ.* 34. 7 ff., who prefers the derivation from **στάειαρ* (but cf. Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1913. 202). Aeol. *βλήρ* might be from **βλεφαρ*, but is more probably from **βληφαρ*, the relation of *βλη* to *δελε* being like that of *τλᾶ* to *ταλα* (*τλᾶτός*, *τάλαντον*), etc.

¹ The number of new formations in *-ρ* is considerably increased if we include those which occur only in this form (above, p. 22, n. 3). The situation is similar in Avestan. Cf. especially Schwyzler, *KZ.* 46. 165 ff., who distinguishes two strata in Greek and Avestan—the inherited type of words of obscure derivation, and a secondary stratum of obvious derivatives from verbs existing in Greek or Avestan respectively, and having a wider semantic scope.

In the historical period, however, it was not productive, but on the contrary in constant decline. Nearly all its representatives occur already in Homer, more precisely all the words which have been cited above except *σκῶρ*, *δέλεαρ* (Eur. +, -*atos* Aristot. +), *καίλατα*. Some occur only in Homer or later poetry; *πείραρ* was replaced by *πέρας* (see below); the others are words of infrequent use, except a few like *ῥῶρ*, and even these eventually disappeared.¹

-*as*, -*atos*

In contrast to the preceding, this group does not represent an inherited mixed type. Although IE. words for 'eye' and 'ear' show an interchange between *i*-, *s*-, and *n*- forms (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*² 2. 1. 577), and the combination of the last two is reflected in Hom. *oûs* (from **oûsos*), *oûatos*, there is no well-defined IE. *s/n* type parallel to the *r/n* type.² Furthermore, *oûs* is the only *σ*-stem with gen. -*atos* in Homer; there are none in -*as*, -*atos*, all the neuters in -*as* which occur showing only *σ*-stem forms, as *τέρας*, *τεράων*, etc. In all the words which show -*as*, -*atos* in later Greek either the *τ*-inflection or the -*as* is secondary.

The latter is the case in the one word that has the *τ*-inflection uniformly, namely, *πέρας*, *πέρατος*, which, like *πείρας* in Pindar, corresponds to Hom. *πείραρ*, and so represents a transfer, favored by the resulting avoidance of successive *ρ*'s, from the -*αρ*, -*atos* type. (That is, **περφαρ* [*πείραρ*] became **περφας*, whence regularly *πείρας* and Att. *πέρας*.) *φρέας* for *φρέαρ* (Choerob. 1. 360. 18) is probably fictitious; *γούνας*, *δοῦρας* (*Gram. Gr.* 2. 407; *δοῦρας* also *Anth. Pal.* 6. 97) are obviously artificial creations to *γούνατος*, *δούρατος*. But *οὔας* as an analogical substitute for *οὔς* has more claim to genuineness. Apart from its occurrence in our text of Simon. 37. 14 Bergk, also Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1046. 81, it is given by the grammarians, including Herodian, e.g., 1. 392. 4, in a list containing no suspicious forms (a few lines before, 1. 391. 27 ff., it is expressly stated that *δέας* and *σπέας*, in spite of *δέατος*, *σπεάτεσσι*, are not in use).

¹ In Modern Greek, *ῥῶρ*, *ῥπαρ*, *οῦθαρ*, and *φρέαρ* have been replaced by other words (*νερό*, *συκώτι*, *μαστάρι*, *πηγάδι*), so that the type is totally extinct.

² Skt. *ûdhas* and *ahas* beside usual *ûdhar* and *ahar* are simply transfers due to the fact that the pause form of final *s* and *r* is the same. Cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* 1. 334.

In the others the τ -forms have sprung up by analogy, in the first instance perhaps after $\pi\acute{\epsilon}ρας$, but mainly owing to the support of those in $-μα, -ματος$. From $\tau\acute{\epsilon}ρας$ Herodotus already has $\tau\acute{\epsilon}ρατος, \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρατα$ (2. 82) beside $\tau\acute{\epsilon}ρεος, \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρεα$ (8. 37), and Attic writers regularly have the τ -forms. From the rare $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\epsilon}ας$ 'awl' Herodotus has $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\epsilon}ατι$ (4. 70, MSS $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\epsilon}ατι$); cf. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\eta}\tauιον, \acute{\omicron}\pi\eta\tauίδιον$ quoted by Pollux. The late $\acute{\alpha}\lambdaας$ for $\acute{\alpha}\lambdaς$ (Aristot. *Mirab.*, N.T., Plut., etc.), which is the acc. pl. $\acute{\alpha}\lambdaας$ converted into a singular under the influence of $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonας$, took on the τ -inflection, as $\acute{\alpha}\lambdaατι$ N.T. *Col.* 4. 6, $\acute{\alpha}\lambdaασιν$ Suid., etc.; cf. Mod. Gr. $\tau\acute{o} \acute{\alpha}\lambdaατι$. Polybius has $\kappa\acute{\nu}\epsilon\phiατος$ from $\kappa\acute{\nu}\epsilon\phiας$. From $\delta\acute{\epsilon}ρας$ the grammarians give $\delta\acute{\epsilon}ρως$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}ρατος$, the latter, e.g., Hdn. 1. 401. 11; so perhaps to be retained in Diod. 4. 56. For $\acute{\epsilon}ρυσίπελας$ the τ -inflection is to be inferred from $\acute{\epsilon}ρυσίπελατώδης$, etc., in medical literature. From $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonας$ the σ -stem forms are almost universal in our texts, including the papyri (Mayser, *Gram. d. griech. Papyri* 276, and cf. $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonως$ *Ox. Pap.* 10. 1335 of 482 A.D.), likewise in inscriptions. But $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonατος$ occurs in an Attic inscription of 338 B.C. (Meisterhans-Schwyzler 143), and, not to mention some few other instances (cf. Crönert, *Mem. gr. Herc.* 172), this had plainly become the current form of inflection in the time of the grammarians. Aside from its casual mention by Herodian (e.g., 1. 406. 25), note the canon of Theodosius (1. 35 Hilgard), $\tau\acute{o} \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonας \tau\acute{o}\upsilon \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonατος \kappaοιν\acute{\omega}ς, \tau\acute{o}\upsilon \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonαος \iotaωνικ\acute{\omega}ς, \tau\acute{o}\upsilon \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonως \acute{\alpha}\tauτικ\acute{\omega}ς$: $\tau\acute{\alpha} \epsilon\acute{\iota}ς \acute{\alpha}\varsigma οὐδέτερα ἢ μὲν κοινὴ διάλεκτος διὰ τοῦ $\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ κλίνει, $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonατος γήρατος, ἢ δὲ τ\acute{\omega}ν 'Ι\acute{\omega}νων καθ' ὑποστολὴν τοῦ τ , $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonαος γήραος, ἢ δὲ τ\acute{\omega}ν 'Αττικῶν συναιροῦσα τ\acute{o} \acute{\alpha}\omicron \epsilon\acute{\iota}ς \omega, \tau\acute{o}\upsilon \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonως, \tau\acute{o}\upsilon γήρως$.¹ Cf. also Mod. Gr. $\tau\acute{\alpha} \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonατα$, etc. The same sources give $\gamma\acute{\eta}ρας, γήρατος$, though the latter seems not to be notable otherwise before the Byzantine period.$$

That the encroachment of τ -forms become general in later Greek is apparent from the statements of the grammarians, like that just quoted, and also from the situation in Modern Greek, where the few remaining representatives in the spoken language of the old neuters in $-ας$ are regularly inflected as τ - or $\tauο$ -stems. Cf. Thumb, *Handbook*, § 105.

¹ The statements of Moeris 336 Koch, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}ρα \kappaα\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρ\acute{\omega}ν 'Αττικ\acute{\omega}ς, \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρατα \kappaα\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρ\acute{\alpha}\tauων 'Ελληνικ\acute{\omega}ς$, and of Thom. Mag. 348 Ritschl, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}ρα \kappaα\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρ\acute{\omega}ν 'Αττικοί, \acute{\omega}ς \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilonα, \kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\acute{\omega}ν \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρατα δὲ \kappaα\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\epsilon}ρ\acute{\alpha}\tauων \acute{\alpha}\piλ\acute{\omega}ς 'Ελληνες$, rest upon a similar observation of the difference between Attic and Hellenistic inflection, but are unfortunate in the example chosen, since $\tau\acute{\epsilon}ρας$ has τ -inflection even in Attic.

The case of *κέρας* is different from the preceding on account of the *ā* in *κέρātos*,¹ etc., which are the forms regularly employed in Attic, except in the military phrase *ἐπὶ κέρως*. According to the view now current *κέρātos* is from **κερασάτος*, which is thought to represent an inherited *n*-stem extension (see below on *κράατος*, Skt. *ḥīrṣhāts*), or in any case (as giving it with intervocalic *σ* implies) a proethnic Greek form. But the fact that in Homer only *σ*-stem forms occur, *κεράων*, etc., with no trace of *κεράτ*,² while not conclusive against this, yet makes in favor of a later origin, just as in the case of *τέρατος*, etc. It is possible that a **κερα-ατος*, whence *κέρātos*, was formed from *κέρα-ος*, prior to its Attic contraction, by analogical substitution of *-ατος* for *-ος*, just as in **γυνf-ατος* (*γύννατος*, *γόννατος*) from **γυνf-ος* (*γυνός*); or, what amounts to much the same, that **κερα-ατος* was a blend of *κέρας* and a **κερατος* (like *τέρατος*). Why this should have happened in this word in contrast to others in *-ας*, we cannot say.

γέρᾱτα Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1046. 28 (second century A.D.), is an artificial imitation of *κέρᾱτα*.

-ος, -ατος

Aside from *οὖς* (from **οὔσος*), *οὔατος*, on which see above, p. 24, a very few analogical *τ*-forms to neuters in *-ος* occur, namely, *σπεά-τεσσι* Xenoph. (Hdn. 1. 391) to *σπέος*, *δέατος* Soph., Hecat. to *δέος*, and *χρήατα* in an Arcadian inscription (*IG.* 5. 2. 343) to *χρέος* (from **χρηος*).³

In Att. *φῶς* from *φάος* the *τ*-forms, *φωτός*, etc. (beside *φάους*, etc.), were obviously formed to the nominative subsequently to its contraction. There is no trace of **φάατος* to *φάος*.

τάψατι=*τάφει* seems to occur in pap. Brit. Mus. 1. 102. 556: *ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ τάψατι*. But apart from the *ψ* which, if correct, is due to the influence of *θάψαι*, the isolated example of transfer to the *τ*-type at this late date is difficult to credit.

¹ The stem *κεράτ*- is also seen in *κερατίνης* and other derivatives, likewise in the rare compound adjective forms, as *ὑψικέρατα* Pind. fr. 321 Bergk (*Ar. Nub.* 597), *πυργόκερατα* Bacch. fr. 51, *λευκοκέρατες* Hesych., *χρυσόκερατ'* Eur. *Hel.* 382, *δξικέρατι* Phot. s.v. *δξοπέρφρω ταύρω*. Cf. especially Danielsson, *Gram. und Etym. Stud.* 26 ff.

² The late epic *κεράατος* is an artificial imitation of *κράατος*.

³ **χρηος* is not necessarily from **χρηφος*, still less *χρήατα* from **χρήφατα*. Cf. Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1913. 200.

-υ, -ατος

The neuters γόνυ and δόρυ were originally inflected *γυνf-os, *δωrf-os, etc., whence Hom. γυνός, δωρός and Att. (poet.) δωρός. But this was an isolated type, and after the analogy of the numerous neuters in -ατος arose as collateral forms *γυνf-ατος, *δωrf-ατος, whence γούνατος, δούρατος in Homer, though much less frequent than γυνός, δωρός, and Att. γόνατος, δόρατος, the regular prose forms.¹

-ᾱ(-η), -ατος and -α, -ατος

Regarding the complicated and much-discussed² inflection of κάρᾱ, Hom. κάρη, no doubt exists that the τ-forms reflect an n-stem, as seen in Skt. cīrṣan- 'head,' gen. cīrṣnás (but nom.-acc. sg. cīras like κέρας), no matter whether Hom. κραάτος, whence κρατός, be taken from *κρασάτος or viewed as merely metrical lengthening of κραάτος from *κρασάτος. (καρήατος and κάρητος are secondary forms from the nom.-acc. κάρη.) It is far less certain that the nom.-acc. κάρᾱ is from *καρασα with α from η (so Brugmann, Ehrlich, loc. cit.), of which a supposed parallel is the following.

ἄλειφα (Aesch.+)³ beside ἄλειφαρ (Hes., Theoc.), ἀλείφατος (Hom.+)⁴ has been accepted as an isolated instance of a nom.-acc. in -α from η, parallel to the frequent -μα from -μη (Skt. -ma, Lat. -men). Cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 108; Brugmann, *Grundriss*² 2. 1. 311. But on the evidence of other languages an IE. nom.-acc. sg. in -η, exclusive of -μη or -μη, must have been exceedingly rare if indeed it existed.⁴ It is doubly suspicious that the sole alleged representative

¹ Any historical connection between *γυνfατος, *δωrfατος and the Sanskrit n-stem forms to neuter u-stems as gen. jānunas, dārunas to jānu, dāru, as is assumed by Pedersen, *KZ.* 32. 253, is wholly improbable.

² Danielsson, *Gram. und Etym. Stud.* 1 ff.; J. Schmidt, *Pluralbild. d. idg. Neutra* 363 ff.; Brugmann, *IF.* 18. 428 ff.; Ehrlich *KZ.* 38. 86 ff.

³ To the references in Liddell and Scott add the important *SGDI.* 5495.34. In Hes. *Th.* 553 the preferred MSS reading is ἄλειφαρ.

⁴ Certainly most neuter n-stems, other than those with the suffixes -men or -uen, belonged to the composite type, with nom.-acc. sg. supplied by a different stem. In Sanskrit only those in -man and in -van have nom.-acc. sg. in -a, never those in an (cf. Lanman, *Noun-Inflection in the Veda* 530). There are no forms pointing to -η in Germanic or Balto-Slavic (OPruss. wundan 'water' is an o-stem form). In Latin, outside of those in -men, and inguen, unguen, early sanguen, there are only pollen, a word of doubtful history and in this form quotable only from the grammarians (cf. Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*⁴ 181 with references to discussions), glüten, which might easily owe its form to the analogy of unguen, and the late and obviously secondary turben and circen.

of such a form in Greek, apart from the hypothetical **καρασα*, should be a word which is so plainly a specifically Greek derivative as is *ἄλειφα* from *ἀλείφω*. I prefer to believe that *ἄλειφα*, beside *ἄλειφαρ* for which see above, p. 22, either owes its form to the analogy of some form in *-μα*,¹ perhaps *ἄλειμμα*, though this is not quotable until later, or is in origin an *o*-stem *plurale tantum*.

The names of the letters like *ἄλφα*, *βῆτα*, etc., with final *a*, though regularly indeclinable, seem sometimes to have adopted the *τ*-inflection; at least *δέλτατος* and *θήτατος* are quoted from Democritus (*Schol. Dion. Thrax*. 184. 18 Hilgard).

-ον, -ατα

This caption signifies nothing more than the existence of plural *τ*-forms in the case of a few words which regularly appear as neuter *o*-stems. Hom. *κτεάτεσσι* (cf. also the verb *κτεάτισσα*) is an isolated relic of a neuter *n*-stem of which *κτέανον*, *κτέανα*, *κτεάνων* represent an *o*-extension.² The late *κτέαρ* (Quint. Sm., etc.; cf. Lobeck, *Paralip.* 176) is probably an artificial creation, rather than an actual survival, of the appropriate singular to *κτεάτεσσι*.

Hom. *προσώπατα*, *προσώπασι*, occurring once each beside regular *πρόσωπα*, *πρόσωπον*, and imitated by Oppian and other late poets, have also been taken as relics of an old *n*-stem, which appears in Skt. *ākṣi*, gen. *akṣnás*, Goth. *augō*, gen. *augins*, etc. Cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 108, 398. But since the *o*-stem is otherwise constant in *πρόσωπον* and likewise in its closest cognate, Skt. *prātika-m*, it is more probable that *προσώπατα*, *προσώπασι* sprang up in Greek as occasional variants due to the analogy of other words for parts of the body, especially *δμματα* and *οὔατα*.

To *δνειρον* beside masc. *δνειρος*, the latter more common in Homer, the plural *δνειρατα* occurs once in Homer (the only neuter plural form), and later was more common than *δνειρα*; cf. also *δνειράτων* Hdt. +, *δνειρασι* Aesch. +, and, sometimes even in the

¹ So already Fraenkel, KZ. 43. 116.

² *κτέανα*, etc., Hescl. +, *κτέανον* Pindar. Used mainly in the plural like *κτῆματα* and *κρήματα* (in Homer *κτῆμα* once, *κρήμα* never). Fraenkel, *IF. Anz.* 26. 61, holds that *κτέανα*, etc., are real *n*-stem forms which have escaped transfer to the *τ*-inflection because they could be felt as *o*-stem forms, and that *κτέανον* was formed to these. I am skeptical of this, and no less of the alleged parallels *βέλεμα* and *κάρηνα*.

singular, *δνείρατι* Aesch., *δνείρατος* Plato. As already observed by J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 375, *δνείρατα* is a blend of *δνειρος* and **δνατα*, the plural of *δναρ*.

Lycophron's *μηλάτων* (*Alex.* 106) from *μῆλον* is not a *τ*-stem form. It is obviously fashioned after *προβάτων*, *πρόβατον* being the prose equivalent of *μῆλον*.

WORD-LIST

NEUTERS WITH GENITIVE IN -ατος

(Exclusive of -μα, -ματος)¹

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>κάρᾱ</i> , <i>κράατος</i> , <i>κράτός</i> , etc. Hom.+ [p. 27. | <i>δέρας</i> , -ατος Diod. (?), Hdn. [p. 25. |
| <i>εἶδαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 22. | <i>κέρας</i> , -ατος Aesch.+ [p. 26. |
| <i>ἔδωρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 22. | -κεράτ- in adj. cpds [p. 26. ¹ |
| <i>δέος</i> , -ατος Soph., Hecat. [p. 26. | <i>ὑψι</i> Pind. |
| <i>δέλεαρ</i> , -ατος Aristot.+ [p. 22. | <i>πυργο</i> Bacch. |
| <i>ῥέας</i> , -ατος Hdt. [p. 25. | <i>λευκο</i> Hesych. |
| <i>σπέος</i> , <i>σπεάτεσσι</i> Hdn. [p. 26. | <i>χρυσυ</i> Eur. |
| <i>κρέας</i> , -ατος Att. inser., gram. [p. 25. | <i>ῥξυ</i> Phot. |
| <i>φρέαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 22. | <i>πέρας</i> , see <i>πείραρ</i> . |
| (<i>κτέαρ</i>), <i>κτεάτεσσι</i> Hom.+ [p. 28. | <i>τέρας</i> , -ατος Hdt.+ [p. 25. |
| <i>στέαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 22. | <i>γῆρας</i> , -ατος Hdn.+ [p. 25. |
| <i>οὔθαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 21. | <i>δνειρον</i> , -ατα Hom.+ [p. 28. |
| <i>καίατα</i> Hesych. [p. 22. | <i>πείραρ</i> , <i>πείρας</i> , <i>πέρας</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [pp. 22, 24. |
| <i>ἀλείατα</i> Hom., <i>ἀλέατα</i> Ion. inser. (Delphin. in Milet 31) [p. 22. | <i>δάρυ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 27. |
| <i>ῥνειαρ</i> , -ατος Hom. [p. 23. | <i>δέλτα</i> , -ατος Schol. Dion. Thrax [p. 28. |
| <i>σκῶρ</i> , <i>σκατός</i> Sophron (emend.), gram. [p. 22. | <i>θῆτα</i> , -ατος <i>ibid.</i> [p. 28. |
| <i>ἄλας</i> , -ατος N.T.+ [p. 25. | <i>οὔς</i> (<i>ῶς</i> , <i>οῦας</i>), -ατος Hom.+ [p. 24. |
| <i>ῥμαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 25. | <i>κνέφας</i> , -ατος Polyb. [p. 25. |
| <i>γόνυ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 27. | <i>ἄλειφα</i> , <i>ἄλειφαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [pp. 22, 27. |
| <i>ῥπαρ</i> , -ατος Hom.+ [p. 21. | <i>τάψατι</i> pap. Brit. Mus. 1. 102, 556 [p. 26. |
| <i>πρόσωπον</i> , -ατα Hom. [p. 28. | |
| <i>γέρας</i> , -ατα Kaibel Epig. Gr. 1046. 29 [p. 26. | |

¹ Intended to include all neuters from which forms in -ατος, etc. (or -ᾶτος), are quotable. Arranged, irrespective of the nominative, according to the letter preceding -ατος. The references also are to the first appearance of such *τ*-forms, not to that of the word as a whole. For example, *κρέας* is included in this list because of *κρέατος* and the reference applies to this; not to *κρέας*, which, with its compounds, will find its place in a full list of neuters in -ας.

THE CAMPAIGN OF PLATAIAI

BY R. T. CLARK

I

The campaign of September, 479 B.C., presents so many interesting problems that no excuse need be made for this attempt to re-examine them. Our knowledge of events depends virtually on a single document, the ninth book of Herodotos. The narrative is in the Father of History's best style, detailed, animated, and adorned with piquant incidents. Collected from a variety of sources, the information in his possession has been worked into a coherent story whose very smoothness had caused it, until recently, to be accepted as a reliable account of one of the few battles in history which may fairly be called decisive.

The campaign begins with the secret departure of the Spartan forces from Lakonia for the Isthmos (c. 11).¹ At that moment the Persians, who, earlier in the year, had advanced south, were in possession of Athens. Almost as soon as Argive messengers had brought news of the starting of the Spartans the Persian army retired into Boiotia. The seizure of the city was a political move and strategically can only be considered a raid (*pace* Munro, *JHS*, 1898, p. 152). There is no record of any military activity during the occupation, and this immediate abandonment suggests that only an "expeditionary force" was employed. But the manner of the Persian retirement is somewhat mysterious. While retreating, says the historian (c. 14), Mardonios learned that *another* army of 1,000 Spartans had reached Megara, whereupon in the hope of taking them he wheeled his whole army round against Megara and his cavalry went on before into the Megarid. After this news came (c. 15) that the Greeks were concentrating at the Isthmos, and he therefore retired through Dekeleia. The "neighbours of the Asopians" were sent for and led him via Sphendale, Tanagra, and Skolos to Theban territory. This he "cleared" and took up a semi-fortified position.

¹ The references are throughout to Herodotos ix.

It is possible to take out of the narrative more than the actual words imply, but it seems clear that we are intended to note (1) that Mardonios' final retirement was by a different route than that assigned to the first retirement, and (2) that the retirement was undertaken in some haste. The reason assigned for the retreat from Megara is that the Greeks were at the Isthmos, which is virtually no reason at all. The original retreat was changed into a sudden "dash" at another army. What army this was is uncertain. It may have been an advanced guard or it may have been the apparently permanent garrison at the Isthmos (c. 8) ordered to move the moment news arrived that Pausanias had left. As Megara was in no danger the move seemed to intimate that the Greek offensive had begun. It could have been no more than an intimation, yet it so excited Mardonios that he broke off his retirement, executed maneuvers involving his whole force (all to take Megara which had been at his mercy all summer), failed in his object, whatever it was, and had to retreat by a circuitous route in some haste. That he really intended to strike at Megara is scarcely possible. The town was a walled one, had just (*vide* Herodotos) received a reinforcement of 1,000 Spartans, and could have been taken only by regular assault. Yet stress is laid on Mardonios' use of his cavalry. It seems clear then that what he aimed at was to intercept this force. It was not going to Megara, because Herodotos explicitly states it was at Megara when Mardonios turned. Where then was it going? Apparently it eventually got to some point where it became an embarrassment to Mardonios' first line of retreat and necessitated the long *détour*. Now, when Mardonios finally got into Boiotia he took up a somewhat peculiar position. His lines ran from Erythrai, past Hysiai, right to the Asopos in Plataian territory, i.e., south of the river. The position was not uniformly held, but troops were massed at three points. The left wing (possibly composed mainly of cavalry) was at Erythrai, the center a little north of Hysiai on the hills above the Moloeis, while the right rested on the Asopos. The camp seems to have been somewhere north of the left wing on, or near, the Erythrai-Thebes road, probably south of the river (Grundy, *Great Persian War*, p. 449; Macan, *Herodotus*, chaps. vii-ix, II, 367). One is at once struck with the fact that of the three Kithairon passes one is abandoned—the

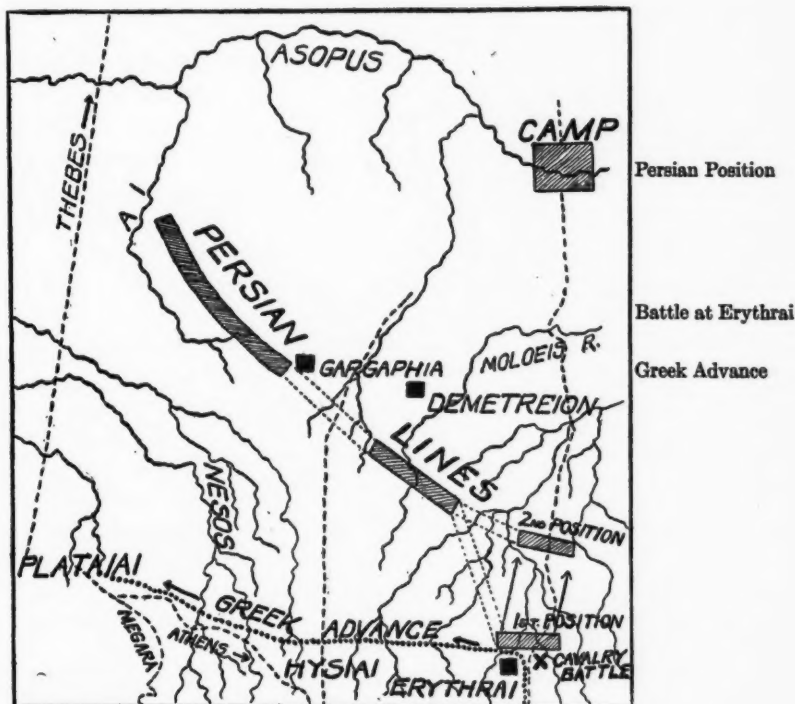
Plataiai-Megara pass, through which runs the best road from the Isthmos to Thebes—and thereby the great strategic line of Kithairon. The explanation most in favor is that Mardonios laid an elaborate trap. The road to Thebes was left open as a bait. If the bait was swallowed, the Greeks would push up from Plataiai with Thebes as objective and deploy against the Persian right. Here the right would take them in semi-flank on the Plataiai-Thebes road, the center would take them on flank and rear, while the cavalry from Erythrai would complete the débacle. It is very doubtful, however, if such elaborate strategy can be ascribed to a fifth-century leader as is involved in this "trap." If Pausanias had an objective, it was that of all good generals, the enemy's main force. He thought it was at Erythrai, and off he went in search of it. To say his objective was Thebes and that Mardonios knew that, is to use terms which only befit a later age.

But on the other hand one does expect to find that attention will be paid to those fundamental principles of strategy which date back to prehistoric times. Mardonios breaks one in calmly leaving a superior line of defense (which could make an even better line of defense for his foe) while Pausanias breaks another in gaily severing—and that without any political object—his communications with his base. The key to the Kithairon position and to Pausanias' communications with the Isthmos is Plataiai, and Plataiai is therefore the key to the campaign. The point I wish to make is this: Mardonios chose a "next best" position because he had lost Plataiai, and Pausanias could go to Erythrai because he held it.

It is scarcely to be doubted that the organization of the great advance was considerably more business-like than Herodotos pretends—one has only to remember the fatuous anecdote of Khileus—and it is probable that troops had begun to concentrate long before Pausanias left. That general was, of course, committed to the offensive; he had to drive the barbarian out of Greece. But he had to prepare for that offensive, and it was no use collecting all Hellas at the Isthmos unless he gave them a road by which to leave it. Mardonios, who never intended to fight a battle in Attica, received the news of the advance and commenced a leisurely retreat. Suddenly he heard that Spartans were already at Megara and were

advancing up the Megara-Plataiai road. He realized his danger. He could indeed retire as he had planned, but he would lose the Kithairon line if they reached Plataiai before him. Hence his sudden raid in

MAP I



the hope of catching them on the open road. The raid failed, and the result of the seizure of Plataiai was that if the main forces moved as quickly his whole retreat was endangered unless he took a new route. Hence the circuitous retreat. Let it be said, too, that Mardonios, who was on the defensive strategically (i.e., he was meeting an offensive) could only have neglected the Kithairon line by compulsion. It was an ideal line for a force such as the Persian acting against the hoplite, and Mardonios knew the latter both in his weakness and his strength.

It will be asked why Mardonios failed to secure Plataiai. In point of fact there is little reason why he should have secured it. He had no foe to fear, and Boiotia was so entirely in his hands that isolated towns were negligible. In his invasion of Attica—an evacuated district—he had no need to trouble about communications if there was no foe to threaten them. It is possible Plataiai never was in Persian hands at all in 479.¹ It had been destroyed in 480 but was probably rebuilt, and there is no record of a second occupation or destruction, while the account of the Greek retreat from the river seems to indicate it was still standing. Besides, Mardonios was lulled to a false sense of security by his dreams of breaking up the confederation. When he heard of the force at Megara he had suddenly to face the possibility of attack. If this were the vanguard and Pausanias was advancing to join the Athenians at Eleusis he might be in considerable peril. The reconaissance indeed told him that the advance proper had not yet begun, but it failed to keep the Greeks from Plataiai. Only the fact that there was such a failure explains Mardonios' neglect of Plataiai *now*.² It also helps to explain his subsequent dispositions, for, if the Greeks were in Plataiai, he would naturally conclude Pausanias intended to advance into Boiotia by that route in the expectation that the Persian main force covered Thebes. Naturally he put it where it would not be expected, north of Hysiai and in the most convenient place for that decisive action which is the duty of the center force.

Pausanias did not hurry his advance. He concentrated his forces, effected a junction with the Athenians at Eleusis, and there received information that the Persians were at Erythrai. On Erythrai he therefore directed his march, a thing he was distinctly rash in doing unless he held Plataiai. Historians almost unanimously declare that the Greek advance used all three passes. Not only does that contradict Herodotos just where his broadly accurate but uncritical knowledge begins, but it is at variance with the Greek plan

¹ The little city was an Athenian ally and Mardonios was anxious to conciliate the Athenians.

² Granted that Plataiai was now in Greek hands, it may be asked why Mardonios did not attempt to storm it. Artabazos' failure at Poleidaia is explanation enough. No general expecting an immediate attack in force could afford to begin siege operations.

of campaign. Pausanias was not advancing to a Kithairon position, but to an invasion of Boiotia via Erythrai. With the Isthmos for base, troops at Plataiai, and his lines of supply directed from his base to that village, he advanced through the pass and found Erythrai evacuated. This leads us to the first stage of the battle proper.

II

The advance of the Greeks into Boiotia is thus described:

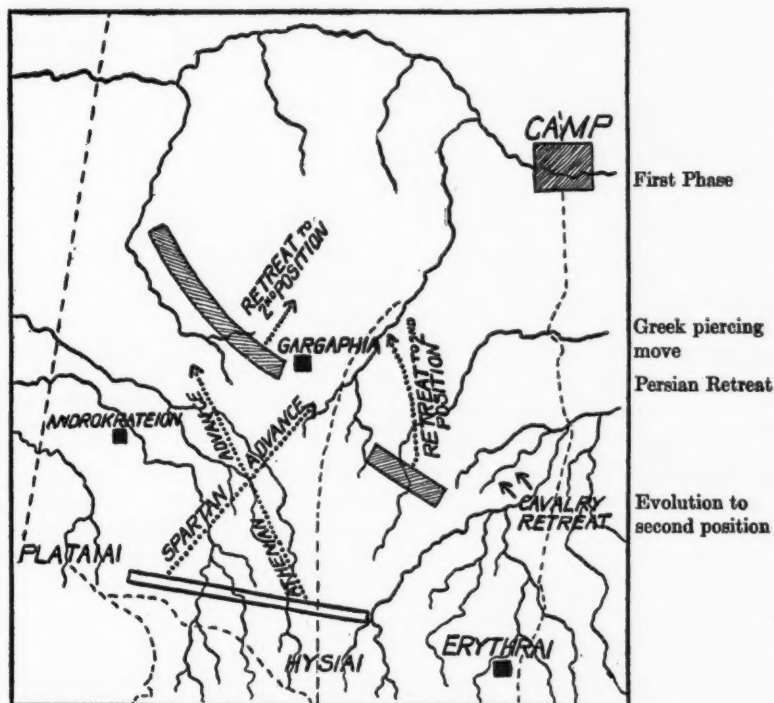
When they reached Erythrai and learned that the Persians were encamped on the Asopos, the Greeks formed themselves opposite, along Kithairon (c. 19). When they remained on the hills Mardonios sent his cavalry against them (c. 20) with disastrous results to the Megarians, who sent a messenger to Pausanias. He called for volunteers: 300 Athenians responded (c. 21), beat back the enemy, killed Masistios, and were on the point of being overcome (c. 22) when the arrival of the main body defeated the final Persian attack (c. 23). Then the Greeks judged it better, both for other reasons and because that region was better supplied with water, to go down toward Plataiai, and especially to Gargaphia. They therefore marched past Hysiai, and, arriving in Plataian territory, formed their line on the plain (c. 25). The Persians, having mourned their loss, now marched to the Asopos (c. 31), and the two armies faced each other (c. 35).

Here we are already in difficulties. In c. 15 we find the Persians at the Asopos and at Erythrai; in c. 19 they have left Erythrai and are gone to the Asopos; while in c. 31 they go *now* to the Asopos. In c. 25 we have the Greek positions carefully described as "on slight elevations and the level plain," while in c. 31 we are told the Greeks are encamped *on* the Asopos. After beating back the cavalry the Greeks determined to go to Plataian territory and Gargaphia (c. 24), while in c. 19 they have already formed opposite (after learning that the Persians were at the Asopos!)—what or *whom*? Where does the Persian cavalry come from? In what position were the Greeks when their leader had to be informed by a herald (c. 21) of the imminent proximity of a division of his army which later (c. 23) only needed to shout to make its needs known? And why should Pausanias sacrifice 300 Athenians if he was coming up with his main army?

Herodotos, I fancy, gained his fullest account of the battle from an actual combatant, probably an Athenian *sous-officier* of intelligence but not of sufficiently high grade to be in his leaders' confidence. No "official history" of the war was published, and the *sous-officier*, remembering a very complicated series of maneuvers which he did not understand, has only a confused narrative to give. Keeping this *sous-officier* in mind, let us examine the account. Mardonios' strategy had failed, and there was nothing for it but to make the best of it and evacuate Erythrai. He could do nothing but wait until he saw what Pausanias would do. The Greek leader on arriving at Erythrai found to his surprise that the Persian main force was on the river. He had therefore only one move possible—to go to Plataiai. Even if Plataiai was still unoccupied, he had to go there unless he desired to risk his whole line of communications. Persian troops still held the Hysiatan position, and keeping therefore on high ground he advanced along Kithairon in a westerly direction. At the head of this column would naturally be the Spartans and the Athenians and Megarians, i.e., what was later the left would bring up the rear. On this rear Mardonios suddenly launched a cavalry attack. The Greeks can hardly have been drawn up on the hills awaiting an attack, because they had no reason to expect one, while Mardonios would scarcely have sent cavalry uphill against hoplites in position. What happened was probably this: Mardonios, learning that his enemy was on the march, saw an excellent chance to disturb his line and prevent his reconcentration on Plataiai and his subsequent advance. If he was successful he might compel the whole army to fight on unfavorable ground. The rear was promptly thrown into confusion by the series of charges. (As no infantry was used there is no question of a regular battle.) The Megarians were on bad ground, probably caught off their guard, and had to send a herald to Pausanias for aid. This proves that the van was some distance away, at or past Hysiai. If the whole army was drawn up in battle array, presumably watching this little drama, Pausanias was betraying an incompetence that was not even graceful if he waited for a courier to tell him what he knew. A picked corps of Athenian archers went off, beat off the attack, and killed Masistios. Mardonios saw he had accomplished nothing and made a last endeavor

to spoil the advance to Plataiai. In one mass the cavalry surged down on the extreme right of the Greeks, but the main body came up and after desperate fighting the cavalry sullenly withdrew. That

MAP II



the main army means the whole Hellenic army is unlikely, considering both their position and their numbers. One corps was sufficient. Could the phrase mean the Athenian main body in contradistinction to the 300 who were really its rearguard? The Athenian narrator would say "our main body," whence Herodotos interpreted this of the whole army. The result of the skirmish was the clearance of the Erythrai pass. Mardonios had attacked the Greek lines, had been defeated, and the Greek position was secure, with the hills held from Plataiai to beyond the Persian center at Hysiai.

Grundy (p. 461) sees in the cavalry battle an attempt to cut the Greek line. But it is difficult to see what the Greek line was doing in such a position as to allow it to be pierced at Dryoskephalai, i.e., right and left of the pass. It could only have gone to the left. Besides, Mardonios only used his cavalry, and it was not the weapon for such a maneuver. Macan (p. 368), on the other hand, imagines that the Greek column was headed by the Megarians and was attacked as it emerged from the pass, that the Greeks came into the battle successively, and so beat off the attack. It was folly for Mardonios in that case to attack with cavalry. The ground would not permit such maneuvering of at least 20,000 men. It is only natural to suppose the Spartans led the van, and the account indicates that the attack took place *after* Pausanias had been at Erythrai and had given up his idea of fighting a battle there. Munro (p. 157) supposes the attack was delivered near Hysiai and that the main Greek body had gone off to attack the camp in the direction of Panakton and turn the left wing. With the Persian forces as they were, that was simply playing into the enemy's hands. Pausanias had to cover Plataiai, as I have said before. Both these views ignore the fact that the Persian center was at Hysiai (as Herodotos does, doubtless because it became the left wing before it was in action).

Encouraged by his success, Pausanias resumed his offensive, and leaving the hills advanced into the plain. Duncker (*History of Greece*, p. 340) regarded this movement as a mistake because of its abandonment of Dryoskephalai. It was certainly bold, so bold indeed that the position to which it led the Greeks became untenable, but it necessitated a withdrawal of the Persians and made it impossible for Mardonios to move south for nine days. Advancing rapidly then, Pausanias sought to pierce the Persian lines via Gargaphia, thus cutting off the Hysiatan division, a maneuver which if at all successful must have brought on an attack with the Greeks on favorable ground. To execute this the wings changed. The Spartans were still heading the advance, but the original rear was becoming the left to keep the Persian right from outflanking (origin of change of wings' story?). Mardonios, however, outstripped him. The Persian center evacuated Hysiai and joined the right on the ridge. Pausanias' plan was excellent, but either it was too slowly executed or Mardonios anticipated his design.

To understand the position it is necessary to remember the position of the Persian right wing. It never moved during the battle except to advance south, so that its original position would be its most northerly one. Herodotos says it extended *παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν*, not "across the Asopos." He is obviously viewing it from the Greek point of view, so we may conclude that the right wing was south of the river. All accounts of the battle which I have seen make the Greek position before the retreat on the hills south of the Asopos (i.e., based on c. 31 *ad. fin.*), and therefore place the Persian lines north of that river. This is clearly seen, e.g., in the map of Grote's *History*. But to make the lines extend across Al to the main Asopos is to misunderstand Mardonios' strategy, for which it was essential that the Plataiai-Thebes' road should be left open in order that the Greek lines should get as far north as possible, and thus the right of the original Persian position must have been along the hills above Al. This raises the problem of the name Asopos. Grundy (p. 470) has already applied that name to Al to explain his difficulties about the so-called "second position." If in c. 31 Herodotos means by Asopos the main stream, then there must have been a retreat of the Persians. No such retreat is mentioned nor can it be deduced from the historian's narrative. The position of the Persian right wing is carefully described as being in Plataian territory, nor is there an indication of a retirement north into Theban territory. Again, the best authorities place the camp south of the river. If it was south, then a wing north of the river would be cut off from it and it was obviously intended as a refuge if they were driven back. I would suggest that Asopos in Herodotos means throughout the main river plus its tributary Al. To apply the same name to a tributary as to the main stream is very common in country districts everywhere, and even if the inhabitants had an individual name for Al (which is unlikely), Herodotos would almost inevitably call it Asopos. Thus this Asopos¹ in a sense is the frontier north and east of the battlefield. When Herodotos says "up to the Asopos" he means a point at the junction of Al with the main stream. His words in c. 31, *τὸν ταύτην ῥέοντα τὸν Ἀσωπὸν*, seem to imply that he speaks of one and the

¹ It is unnecessary to object that Al is a mere brook. Under conditions of war the merest brook may constitute a formidable obstacle. A ditch, e.g., would play havoc with hoplite formation in action.

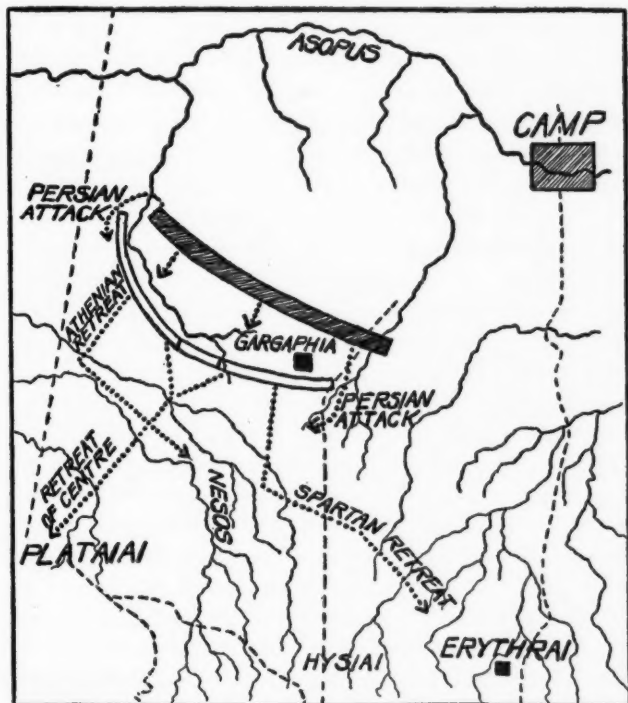
same stream ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ = at that point, i.e., where the Greeks are), and not of a new tributary of the original stream.

What had happened was that Mardonios' withdrawal from Hysiai (referred to in c. 31, as opposed to c. 19, which refers only to the withdrawal from an east-southeast position to a river position) was accomplished before Pausanias had completed his thrust via Gargaphia. The result was that Pausanias, instead of facing a gap not held in force, was brought up against the solid mass of the new Persian left wing (the original Hysiatan center, and was compelled to turn the rear of his advance more and more in a northwesterly direction in order to face the second enemy mass on his left. The conditions of the ground however allowed him to occupy a line parallel to and almost as strong as that of his foe. The position was stalemate.

Much difficulty has been caused by the assumption, e.g., by Delbrück (*Persirker Krieg*, p. 96), that Pausanias' strategy was a defensive one. Here he considers that Pausanias advanced to secure a better defensive position. This is absurd. If he had wished a "better defensive position" he had the Kithairon line. Pausanias was always on the strategic offensive; the retreat was only tactical, and then, if you will, to a "better defensive position." To interpret otherwise is to misunderstand the whole situation. The advance again is regarded by Grundy (p. 473), Woodhouse (*JHS*, 1898, p. 41), and Bury (*History of Greece*, p. 290) as an attempt to turn the Persian right. This is good so far as it realizes that Pausanias was taking the offensive. But it ignores the fact that the Persians moved *after* the Greeks did and a real outflanking movement was impossible as long as there were any Persian troops south of Al. By Gargaphia is, in any case, not the way to outflank a right wing which stretched away to the left of it and which was never really covered by the Greek left at any period of the battle. As Awdry (*Annals of the British School at Athens*, 1894, p. 97) and Wright (*Plataea*, p. 56) point out, any advance to Thebes must have taken place over excellent cavalry ground, and the Persian cavalry was not so shattered as to be as negligible as this would imply. As we have seen, too, Thebes never was Pausanias' objective. Munro (p. 159) likewise supports this view—apparently forgetting his Panakton theory—but with a different

explanation. He supposes Pausanias delegated to the Athenians—the despised Athenians—the task of skirting the hills east of the road to Thebes and of turning the right by forcing the river. They

MAP III



Second Phase
and Projected
Greek Retreat

“funked” and took refuge on the Pyrgos hill, with the result that Pausanias had to move his center into the plain to fill the gap. But if his piercing movement was not to result in entire defeat, Pausanias had to keep his left in position against the Persian right until the enemy moved. This is the explanation of the left-flank movement. Nor is any account taken of the Persian center. If the gap had actually occurred, Mardonios had an easy task with his superior forces to pierce the line and roll the right up with his center. Any successful flanking movement was impossible for Pausanias, and an

attack following an attempt at one was almost certainly doomed to fail. Macan's theory (p. 379), while this criticism does not apply to it, conceives of a double position, which depends largely on his view of the Erythrai combat but which takes account of the Persians at Hysiai. He considers the first Greek position was an immediate formation on emerging from the pass. From that they moved to a Hysiatan position facing the Persian center and separated by the valley from the Persian right. Here was spent the time till Mardonios raided Dryoskephalai, and then Pausanias moved forward to the main Asopos. Of all this there is no word in Herodotos. It is difficult to see why, if Pausanias was in straits at Hysiai, he should have considered that a tactical advance would help him unless he intended a general attack. The text shows that he clung to his position obstinately till badgered out of it, and that all the skirmishes took place on the river.

III

The narrative thus goes on:

For eight days the sacrifices were unfavorable, i.e., the generals did not wish to move (cc. 36, 37). Then Mardonios sent a cavalry squadron to Dryoskephalai which cut off the baggage train (c. 39). Two more days elapsed. The Persians abandoned their lines and came down to the stream, but the Greeks did not move. Cavalry attacks were incessant, and there was continual general fighting (c. 40). By the eleventh day reinforcements had visibly increased the Greek army, and Mardonios could stand it no longer. Against Artabazos' advice in favor of a policy of bribery Mardonios decided to attack (cc. 41, 42). Alexander at night betrayed the plan to the Greeks (cc. 44, 45). The story of the change of wings follows (cc. 46, 47). Mardonios taunted the Spartans and finally challenged them (c. 48). No answer being forthcoming he sent his cavalry against the Greeks, and what was almost an attack in force ensued. On the left the Greeks were repulsed from the river and on the right from Gargaphia. As a result they became short of water and food (cc. 49, 50). It was resolved to retire to the Nesos if no general attack took place next day. Water there was plentiful and the ground was too rough for cavalry. From it half their forces would reopen the Erythrai pass (c. 51). All that day they suffered heavily, and at

night there was a general stampede, many "never intending to go where they had been told, while others bolted to Plataiai" (c. 52) and drew up before the Heraion. Pausanias ordered the Spartans to follow, but Amompharetos refused to move. Pausanias stayed to reason with him (c. 53). The Athenians, suspecting Spartan treachery, kept still and sent to ask Pausanias what to do (c. 54). He answered by asking them to come to him and "act as they should" (c. 55). Morning came and found Amompharetos still obstinate. Pausanias therefore moved off along the hills, keeping to the rising ground and the base of Kithairon. The Athenians also moved, but in the valley (c. 56). Amompharetos yielded now and followed. Pausanias halted on the Moloeis to receive him. He appeared, pursued by the cavalry (c. 57). Mardonios now ordered a general attack on the Spartans (c. 59).

This account in the main is quite clear. The Greek line extended from Gargaphia round Al. On the rising ground the Persians were on the ridge, if anything in the stronger position. The position was the direct result of the check to the piercing move, with the result that inaction, though to the taste of neither, was a necessity for both. To force either position was dangerous; to retreat in the face of the enemy equally perilous. Much has been said to account for this failure to move, but necessity is a sufficient explanation (Meyer, *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 409). In vain did Mardonios bring his men down from the hills to induce the Greeks to engage with him; they saw their peril and remained in their lines. After a week of this maneuvering Mardonios tried to effect a diversion by cutting the Greek communication with Dryoskephalai. A squadron of cavalry occupied the pass. The actual effect of the movement was slight—a convoy was captured—but it was a plain threat to Pausanias' whole position by outflankment on the right. Provisions suddenly became scarcer, and the Greeks were in some difficulty. Mardonios, however, could not wait and resolved to take the offensive. He was now, at least, reinforced by Artabazos and was able to use his whole division as a reserve. His counsel was better than Artabazos', for he knew he had the advantage for the moment, while Artabazos' policy meant a long process and Persia, with the issue at sea still doubtful, could not afford long processes.

The battle began by a series of cavalry charges followed by an attack in force designed to drive the Greeks from the river. On both wings the Persians were successful. On the left they crossed Al and drove off the Athenians. On the right they beat back the Spartans from Gargaphia. As a result the water supply failed. Pausanias was in grave peril. At the least, he was outflanked on both sides by swarms of enemies, though what Awdry says (p. 91)—that the Persian cavalry was riding at will round the Greek position—can hardly be true. The Greeks had to move. Here our *sous-officier* comes in again. He was not of the council and did not understand what he saw. Hence the incoherence of the account and the extraordinary tale of the stampede.

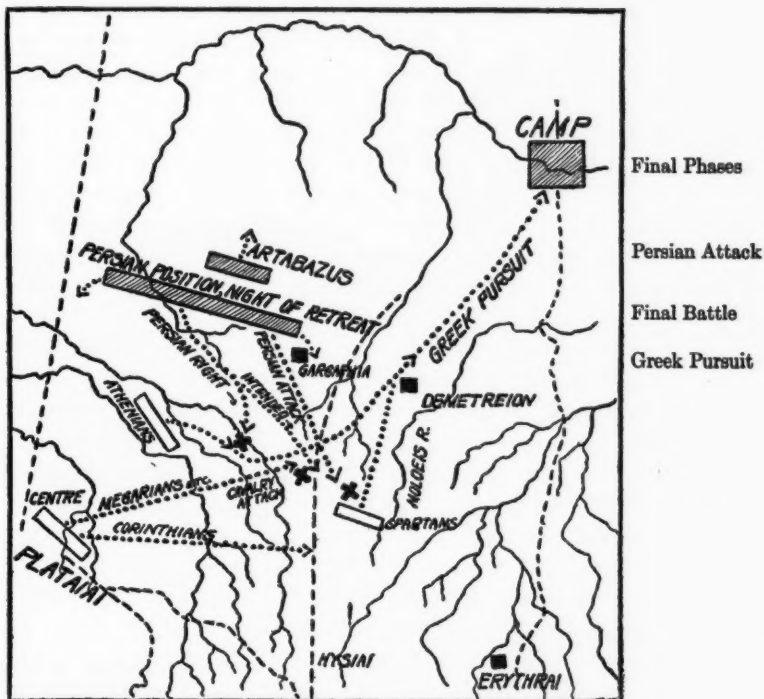
Pausanias, if he was going to retire, had to cover his original position, i.e., the Plataiai line. He could not see the result of a repetition next day of that day's happenings, and it was possible the Greeks would be so far weakened as to be forced to retire with the battle raging. He had therefore first to secure the key—Plataiai—and accordingly the center was to retire on the town the moment it was dark. The others would stay in their lines till dawn to cover the retreat and then would retire southeast on diverging lines, the right ultimately to Erythrai via the Nesos, the left to the Nesos and thence cover Hysiai. On the Kithairon line it would await Mardonios' development of his offensive.

Another serious day passed with hard fighting and distress from want of water. At night in pursuance of the plan the center retired. Greek discipline off the battlefield was never very good. There was need for haste (seen by the fact that the center formed whenever it reached Plataiai), and so the retreat must have looked not unlike a stampede. Imagine the feelings of an Athenian, not in his leaders' confidence, ordered to stay in his lines to wait for the Spartans, suddenly seeing the whole center apparently bolt, leaving his division isolated! At dawn, or sometime before, the Athenians, crossing the stream in their rear, proceeded to the Nesos, while Pausanias retired back from Gargaphia on fairly level ground. Amompharetos was left behind at Gargaphia to conceal the retreat.¹ With daylight the Persian cavalry discovered the truth, but Pausanias had had time to

¹ It is surely unnecessary to comment further on the Amompharetos incident.

get away and be on the rising ground that slopes to Kithairon. He halted to receive Amompharetos who came slowly, holding off the Persian cavalry.

MAP IV



NOTE.—These plans do not pretend to be other than the merest sketch maps

With Grundy (p. 487) this retreat must be considered necessary. The tradition given in Diodorus from Ephorus praises Pausanias for his brilliant choice of a second position. It is difficult to see why. The original motive was brilliant, but the position into which it led him was never tenable. Sooner or later he must retreat. Retreat being thus a tactical necessity, it will not do to lavish praise on Pausanias for the brilliant device of a "feigned retreat." Of this theory Wright (p. 63) is the most redoubtable champion. He

considers that there was no need for the Greeks to retire for (a) it has been established by Woodhouse (p. 48) that there were other streams near (but water would then have to be carried some distance and there was severe fighting all the time); and (b) the Persian cavalry retired from Gargaphia at night and did not occupy it (but it had already succeeded in destroying the springs). Apart from this consideration altogether, Pausanias was practically surrounded, was actually outflanked and on bad ground. Wright, however, will have it that Gargaphia was deliberately sacrificed to entice the infantry to follow the cavalry to destruction. But the infantry was already engaged and had driven in the Greeks. If the retreat was "feigned," why did Pausanias delay so long, why did the center leave the battle, why did he allow the Athenians to escape taking part? The retirement of the center meant the occupation in force of Plataiai, which again indicates clearly that Pausanias meant to retire on Kithairon. As it turned out, the Spartans were very nearly defeated, might even have been defeated had the Athenians not engaged the Persian right. Pausanias of course must have foreseen a pursuit and an attack and took precautions accordingly; but to induce an attack cannot have been his aim. Admittedly the "feigned retreat" was a favorite device. Wright cites Thermopylai and Marathon. But in both these cases it was executed in action, in the former to make the enemy break rank, in the latter to let the wings close in. In neither case was there a complicated maneuver of an entire force over a wide tract of country involved. The feigned retreat of the *Laches* (c. 191c) which did win the battle was at the wicker fence and nowhere else. Delbrück's suggestion (p. 117) that the Persians attempted a diversion toward Phylai and that the center was sent back to meet this, Mardonios attacking while the line was being reformed, is unthinkable. Why should the center then form north of Plataiai, outside the town? What good, moreover, could such a move have done Mardonios?

The Greeks were, as Munro says (p. 160), demoralized, or at least within measurable distance of being so, and their victory was the result of Pausanias' quickness in taking advantage of Mardonios' fatal error. The Persian general thought the Spartans were beaten, he failed to see the Athenians in the depressions toward the Nesos, and so ordered a general charge. Pausanias saw his chance, halted his line, and sent a messenger to the Athenians to send him archers

for use against the cavalry and to change their course so as to come to his help. Munro (p. 164) considers this message apocryphal. It is not easy to see why Pausanias did not know the Athenians would meet the right wing of the attack, and he needed them if only to make assurance doubly sure. The Persians came on confident of victory. Macan (p. 372) complains that the center took no part in the battle but it must have been the original center which had driven the Spartans from Gargaphia and now led the pursuit. They did not venture to attack hoplites hand to hand, but threw up a stockade of wicker shields from behind which they opened a galling fire of arrows. The pretext of an unfavorable sacrifice kept Pausanias' men steady and an invocation of Hera gave them heart. The left—the Tegeans—attacked, and shortly after the Spartans moved also. This indicates the Spartan lines were in a northwest direction, i.e., in that of an army making for Erythrai. Meantime the Athenians, hurrying over to help the Spartans, straggled into the pursuit and the medizing Greeks who had been the right wing faced about and engaged them. The Spartans, however, by themselves had forced the stockade, perhaps by the device of the feigned retreat for which Pausanias would then deserve all the credit Wright gives him. The rest was easy. Unable to withstand the Spartan charge, the line broke and fled to the camp, the Spartans in hot pursuit. A desperate rally took place near the Demetreion, where the Persians displayed wild heroism. In the *mêlée*, however, Mardonios, who was leading what promised to be a successful charge, fell, and at that the rally collapsed, Mardonios' chosen troops dying where they stood. Artabazos, left as a reserve (doubtless on the ridge), saw that the day was lost and drew off his squadron. It is difficult not to accuse him of cowardice, since the sudden accession of his fresh troops might have broken the Greeks. But his royal master seems to have had nothing but approval for the deed, and at that we may leave it. However, there was still some fight left in the Persians. At this point the cavalry re-entered the battle. Both Munro (p. 163) and Macan (p. 370) complain of its disappearance, but it had driven in Amompharetos and harrassed Pausanias till it was drawn off to make room for the infantry. With great gallantry it now fought a brilliant rear-guard action the whole way to the camp, thus enabling the broken infantry to man the walls. The Spartans, driving the enemy before

them, failed to carry it, but the Athenians coming up later—which indicates that the battle on the left was more severe than Macan (p. 384) seems disposed to admit—effected a breach through which the Tegeans dashed. The victory was won. Both Wright (p. 70) and Macan (p. 372) doubt this division of labor, but one may ask, When did sappers ever form a storming party?

There remains the problem of the center, which during the struggle of the wings had remained inactive at Plataiai. When it saw the Greeks winning, contingents were detached to join the pursuit. It cannot be too strongly insisted that the center could not move until it was certain that victory was beyond doubt. If either Pausanias or the Athenians were broken, on it might depend the whole safety of Greece. The Corinthians went along the hills, while the Megarians and Phleisians entered the plain. Here they were suddenly attacked by a squadron of Theban horse and, being in disorder, were hopelessly scattered. Macan (p. 385) supposes there was a division of duty, the Corinthians supporting the Spartans, the Megarians the Athenians, then *in extremis*. Possibly, but the point is that the Greek advance on the camp had begun before they moved. Consequently they were off their guard and careless. That the battle was won is seen by the fact that if the Athenians were still contesting the ground with the right wing, the Theban horse would, granted that they could have detached themselves from the *mêlée*, have had to ride round, or through, the Greeks. (They may, of course have been the Dryoskephalai squadron, but Herodotos seems to indicate [c. 39] that that was Persian.) In that case the Megarians would have seen it coming. It was a squadron that had got off from the rout of the right. The Athenians were already near the camp and, seeing the Megarians on level ground and unsuspecting, the squadron suddenly swept into them.

There is little evidence, it may be remarked, for the view that the Athenians were guilty of remarkable remissness, to use no stronger word, and failed conspicuously to attain their objective. The *whole* retreat except the center was caught ere it reached its objective, and no more blame attaches to the Athenians than to the Spartans. Tactically the retreat was a failure. Mardonios' error turned it into a victory.

PERTH, SCOTLAND

LATIN DIMINUTION OF ADJECTIVES. II

BY WALTER PETERSEN

V. DETERIORATIVE ADJECTIVES

36. The suffix of a deteriorative adjective, just as that of the hypocoristic adjectives (sec. 28), can express an emotion felt toward the modified substantive only or for the quality designated by the deteriorative adjective as well; the latter e.g. in *improbulus*: *improbus* 'wicked,' *lentulus*: *lentus* 'slow,' or *turpiculus*: *turpis* 'base'; the former e.g. in *albulus*: *albus* 'white,' *gemellus*: *geminus* 'twin-born,' or *eruditulus*: *eruditus* 'learned.' This distinction, however, will not be made the basis of classification, because, as with the corresponding hypocorisms, too often one cannot be certain to which class a deteriorative may belong. Thus in Mart. 5. 61 *Crispulus iste quis est?* is the subject despised *because* of his curled hair, or was that feature mentioned simply as a distinguishing mark?

37. Our examples will rather be divided, as were the hypocoristic adjectives, according to the more precise value of the suffix. As was seen in sec. 8, the 'diminutives' in *-lo-* and its conglutinates, far outnumbering those in *-culo-*, developed their deteriorative value from the diminutive and hypocoristic, and consequently a far larger number than e.g. of Greek substantival deterioratives in *-ov*, which developed their meaning directly from that of similarity,¹ show a combination of the pejorative value with the diminutive on the one hand, and the hypocoristic on the other. Aside from these two groups the deterioratives can be divided into two others according to whether the emotion is contempt or rather hate or anger ("imprecatory diminutives").² As a matter of fact the emotion which is secondary to small size must needs be contempt, and similarly the one derived from hypocoristic use (see sec. 39). We thus get four classes: (1) diminutive-deteriorative adjectives, (2) hypocoristic-deteriorative adjectives, (3) adjectives expressing contempt without diminutive or hypocoristic notion, (4) adjectives expressing hate or anger.

¹ Cf. sec. 8.

² Thus called by Edgerton JAOS 31. 138 f.

1. *Diminutive-Deteriorative Adjectives*

38. The development from 'small' to 'of little value or strength' to 'contemptible' is so easy as to be found in practically all frequent diminutive suffixes.¹ As examples of the transition when both notions were present might be mentioned some examples quoted above as true diminutives, e.g. *tantulus* (second and third example, sec. 15), *tantillus* (second example, sec. 15), *tenuiculus* (sec. 17), *paullulus* (second example, sec. 17), *macellus* (sec. 18), *bimulus* (first example, sec. 19), *Graeculus* (sec. 26); cf. also sec. 20. Other examples follow:

acutulus: *acutus* 'acute, subtile': Gell. 17. 5. 3 *rhetoricus*
ex istis acutulis et minutis doctoribus, qui τεχνικοί appellantur.
barbatulus: *barbatus* 'bearded': Cic. Att. 1. 14. 5 *concurabant barbatuli*² *juvenes, totus ille grex Catalinae.* **misellus:** *miser* 'wretched': Plaut. Rud. 2. 6. 66 *Eheu! redactus sum usque ad unam hanc tuniculam Et ad hoc misellum*³ *pallium.* **parvulus:** *parvus* 'small': Lucr. 4. 1162 *Nigra melichrus est, immunda et fetida acosmos, Caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas, Parvula, pumilio.* **pauculi:** *pauci* 'few': Vulg. 1. Regg. 17. 28 *Quare dereliquisti pauculos oves illas in deserto?* **pauxillulus:** *paullus* 'small': Gell. N.A. praef. 16 *an minutae istae admonitiones et pauxillulae*⁴ *nequaquam tamen sint vel ad alendum studium vescae vel, etc.* **pusillus:** *pusus* (cf. sub sec. 18): Cic. Fam. 2. 17. 7 *Illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentis jejuni atque inanis;* Juv. 15. 70 *Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.* **quantulus:** *quantus* 'how much': App. M. 9. 35 *cladibus amici quantulum quantulum ferentes auxilium;* Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 1 *quantulum*⁴ *judicare possemus.* **scitulus:** *scitus* 'handsome, elegant': Arn. 5. 31 *quis (sc. edidit) scitulos pusiones atque adultos venustissimis lineis adpetitos esse incesti?* **vesculus:** *vescus* 'little, trifling': Fest. p. 379 Müller *Vesculi male curati et graciles homines.*

Three words of the same kind end in *-culo-*: **breviculus:** *brevis* 'short': Plaut Merc. 3. 4. 54 *Canum (sc. esse aiebant), varum,*

¹ Cf. Brugmann Gr. 2. 1^o. 681 f.

² The diminutive notion here is youth instead of small size.

³ The diminutive notion here consists of the feeling that a *tunicula* and a *pallium* were a small as well as insignificant remnant of former wealth.

⁴ In passages like these the cause of the diminutive-deteriorative is a desire to appear modest and to represent as small and insignificant something of one's self.

ventriosum, bucculentum, breviculum, Subnigris oculis, oblongis malis, pansam aliquantulum; App. M. 1. 12 *Grabatulus alioquin breviculus et uno pede mutilus ac putris*. **leviculus**: *levis* 'light': Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 36. 103 *Leviculus sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculae . . . insusurrantisque alteri: 'Hic est ille Demosthenes'*; Gell. 13. 31. 15 *Quid significet prandium caninum, rem leviculam, diu et anxie quaesivimus*. **mediocriculus**: *mediocris* 'middling': Cato *ap. Fest.* p. 154 Müller *Ridibundum magistratum, pauculos homines, mediocriculum exercitum obviam duci*.

2. Hypocoristic-Deteriorative Adjectives

39. Contempt is derived from hypocoristic uses of a suffix when e.g. admiration for neatness, elegance, or luxuriousness changes to contempt because of changed circumstances or a changed point of view, as in the deterioratives *comatulus* 'with luxuriant hair' (: *comatus*), *crispulus* 'with crisp or curly hair' (: *crispus*), or *eruditulus* 'learned' (: *eruditus*). The qualities of having luxuriant or curly hair would naturally cause contempt among the less foppish, and the quality of being learned is often referred to ironically among the less learned, or may cause contempt when the kind of learning is a worthless one. Furthermore, hypocorisms of the kind mentioned as well as expressions of endearment become deteriorative when used ironically, as when *beatulus* 'a happy or sainted fellow' is applied to a rascal, or when *pulchellus*: *pulcher* 'beautiful' is applied to a deformed person, or when a term of endearment which is perfectly in place when given to women becomes transferred to men, as *tenellus* 'tender' and *molliculus* 'soft, delicate.' A most surprising turn is sometimes given a passage by the use of an ironical hypocoristic derivative from an adjective whose meaning seems to exclude such a possibility, e.g. *audaculus*: *audax* 'daring' in Petr. 63. 5 *Habebamus tunc hominem Cappadocem longum, valde audaculum, et qui valebat bovem iratum tollere* (as though 'a nice courageous little fellow,' in spite of his size and strength). Similarly *feroculus*: *ferox* 'fierce' Turp. *ap. Non.* 75. 30 "*Ne me attingat atque aufer manum!*" "*Heial quam ferocula est!*"¹ Auct. B. Afr. 16. 1 *quid, tu, . . . miles tiro, tam feroculus es?*

¹ The exclamation shows that *ferocula* is not 'somewhat fierce.'

40. Collection of examples. **astutulus**: *astutus* 'astute': App. M. 9. 30 *Unde autem tu, astutule asine, . . . quid secreto, ut affirmas, mulieres gesserint, scire potuisti?* **audaculus** (see sec. 39); cf. also Gell. 5. 21. 4 *Aderat, cum ille hoc dicit, reprehensor audaculus verborum, qui perpauca eademque a volgo protrita legerat habebatque nonnullas disciplinae grammaticae inauditiunculas*; Sulp. Apoll. ap. Gell. 15. 5. **beatulus**: *beatus* 'happy, sainted': Pers. 3. 103 *tandemque beatulus alto Compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis In portam rigidas calces extendit.* **bellule** (adverb): *bellus* 'beautiful': App. M. 10. 16 *At ego, quamquam jam bellule suffarcinatus . . . esurienter exhibitas escas appelebam.* **blandiloquentulus**: *blandiloquens* 'speaking coaxingly': Plaut. Trin. 2. 1. 18 *subdole blanditur* (sc. Amor), *ab re consulit, Blandiloquentulus, harpago, mendax, cuppes, avarus, elegans, despoliator.* **cincinnatulus**: *cincinnatus* 'with curled hair': Hier. Ep. 130 n. 19 *Quid fugiendum . . . Cincinnatulos pueros et calamistratos.* **comatulus**: *comatus* 'having long or luxurious hair': Hier. Ep. 54 n. 13 *Juvenum fuge consortia. Comatulos, comptos, atque lascivos domus tuae tectae non videant.* **crispulus**: *crispus* 'with curly hair': Sen. Ep. 66. 25 *Paulatim fastidium tuum illo usque procedet, ut ex duobus aequae justis ac prudentibus comatum et crispulum malis*; Mart. 5. 61 *Crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret Qui, Mariane, tuae? Crispulus iste quis est?* Figuratively Fronto Or. Ep. 3. p. 248 *Dicis fortasse, quid in orationibus meis novicium, quid crispulum, quid luscum, quid purpurisso litum, aut pollutum?* **eruditulus**: *eruditus*: Cat. 57. 7 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique, Uno in lectulo, erudituli ambo.* **feroculus** (see sec. 39). **integellus**: *integer* 'safe, uninjured': Cic. Fam. 9. 10. 2 *Sed tamen suavissimum συμβωρην nostrum praestabo integellum, nec committam ut, si ego eum condemnaro, tu restituas.* **mollicellus**: *mollis* 'soft, tender': Cat. 25. 10 *Ne laneum latusculum manusque mollicellas Inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribillent.* **mundulus**: *mundus* 'neat, spruce': Plaut. Truc. 3. 1. 14 *Ne ego urbanos istos mundulos amasios Hoc ictu exponam.* **perastutulus**: *perastutus* 'very crafty': App. M. 9. 5 *Tunc mulier callida et ad huiusmodi flagitia perastutula.* **pulchellus**: *pulcher* 'beautiful': Crass. ap. Cic. de Or. 2. 65. 262 *Audiamus . . . pulchellum puerum* (of one deformed). **religiosulus**: *religiosus* 'religious': Hier. Adv. Ruf. 3. 7 *Queris cur opponam clypeam pugioni tuo, et tibi*

quasi religiosulus et sanctulus personam humilitatis imponis. sanctulus: sanctus 'holy': see sub *religiosulus*. *subargutulus:* subargutus 'somewhat subtle': Gell. 15. 30. 1 *Qui ab alio genere vitae detriti jam et retorridi ad literarum disciplinas serius adeunt, si forte idem sunt garruli natura et subargutuli, oppido quam fiunt in literarum ostentatione inepti et frivoli. tenellus:* tener 'tender': Domit. Mart. Poet. ap. Suet. Gram. 16 *Epirola, tenellorum nutricula vatam.*

Also one word in *-culo-*: *molliculus:* mollis 'soft, tender': Charisius 183 P *molliculus adulescentulus.*

3. Deteriorative Adjectives without Recognizable Diminutive-Hypocoristic Elements

41. As was indicated in sec. 37, the emotion prompting the use of a deteriorative suffix may be not only contempt of a more or less intense character, but also hatred or anger. The latter was no doubt a secondary use which may be explained by the scorn with which a contemptible object is frequently viewed, and from scorn to hatred without contempt is but a little step. Both emotions are present, e.g. in the use of *albulus:* albus 'white' in Cat. 29. 8 *Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens Perambulabit omnium cubilia Ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus?* The cause of the use of the adjectival diminutive here is surely the scorn and hatred for the subject as well as the contempt for the dove with which he is compared. A similar combination occurs in *ebriolus:* ebrius 'intoxicated': Plaut. Curc. 1. 3. 35 *quid ais, propudium?* . . . *Ebriola persolla, nugae.* On the other hand, contempt seems to be altogether absent or at least thoroughly subordinate in the following cases: *acutulus:* acutus 'sharp': App. M. 6. 27 *Nec tamen acutulae anus milvinos oculos effugere potui. callidulus:* callidus 'cunning': Arn. 2. 68 *hunc similiter morem non fraude callidula et nominum ambiguitate mutastis? timulus:* limus 'askance': Plaut. Bacch. 5. 2. 12 *Viden limulis, opsepro, ut intuentur? litteratulus:* litteratus 'learned': Hier. Adv. Ruf. 1. n. 30 *En tu, qui in me parvam criminariis scientiam, et videris tibi litteratulus atque Rabbi, responde. vastulus:* vastus 'huge': App. M. 2. 32 *ecce tres quidem vegentes et vastulis corporibus fores nostras ex summis viribus irruentes.*

42. Aside from these few examples in which hatred or anger is certainly dominant, it will not be practicable to attempt to separate these emotions from contempt, since the latter *may* nearly always be present and dominant. All other examples of deteriorative adjectives will therefore now be given in alphabetical order:

argutulus: *argutus* 'verbose': Cic. *Att.* 13. 18 *Perfeci sane argutulos¹ libros ad Varronem.* **aridulus:** *aridus* 'dry': Cat. 64. 310 (of the Fates) *Laneaque aridulis² haerebant morsa labellis.* **auritulus:** *auritus* 'long-eared': *Phaedr.* 1. 11. 6 *Hic (sc. asinus) auritulus Clamorem subito . . . tollit.* **cerritulus:** *cerritus* 'crazy, mad': Mart. Cap. 8 sec. 806 *velut cerritulum garrientem.* **deliculus:** *delicius* 'wanting, blemished': Cato *R.R.* 2. 7 *boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas³ . . . vendat.* **dicaculus:** *dicax* 'talkative': Plaut. *As.* 3. 1. 8 (in an altercation) *Satis dicacula es amatrix.* **ebriolus:** *ebrius* 'intoxicated': *id. Curc.* 2. 3. 15 *Tristes atque ebrioli incedunt.* **gemellus:** *geminus* 'twin-born': Cat. 57. 6 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique;* Hor. *S.* 2. 3. 244 *pravorum et amore gemellum.* **Graeculus:** *Graecus* 'Greek': Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 35. 86 *Ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum;* *id. Fl.* 10. 23 *motum quendam temerarium Graeculae contionis;* *id. De Or.* 1. 11. 47 *Verbi enim controversia jam diu torquet Graeculos homines, contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis.* **horridulus:** *horridus* 'rough, rude': *id. Or.* 45. 152 *orationes illae ipsae horridulae Catonis;* Mart. 10. 98. 9 *Praesta de grege sordidaque villa Tonsos, horridulos, rudes, pusillos, Hircosi mihi filios subulci.* **ignitulus:** *ignitus* 'fiery': Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1. 10 (fin.) *Mercurius, in calvitio pennatulus, in caduceo ignitulus.* **improbulus:** *improbus* 'wicked': Juv. 5. 73 *finge tamen te Improbulum.* **languidulus:** *languidus* 'faded, withered': Cic. *frag. ap. Quint.* 8. 3. 66 *Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium.* **lentulus:** *lentus* 'slow': *id. Att.* 10. 11. 2 *An existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum?* **lippulus:** *lippus* 'blear-eyed': Arn. 7. 34 *quodsi possent adscribere valitudines, aegritudines et corporales diis morbos, non dubitarent eos lienosos, lippulos atque*

¹ The deteriorative element here also comes from a desire to appear modest. Cf. *pauzillulus* and *quantulus*, sec. 38.

² The lips of the Fates were dry with age.

³ Here the emotion of contempt has faded and there is nothing left except a judgment of inferiority.

enterocelicos dicere. lividulus: lividus 'envious': Juv. 11. 110 *Omnia tunc, quibus invidias, si lividulus¹ sis. loquaculus: loquax* 'talkative': Lucr. 4. 1165 *At flagrans odiosa loquacula Lampadium fit. mendiculus: mendicus* 'beggarly': Plaut. *Ep.* 2. 2. 42 *an regillam induculam an mendiculam? paetulus: paetus* 'blink-eyed': Cic. *N.D.* 1. 29. 80 *si non tam strabones, at paetulos esse* (sc. deos) *arbitramur? pennatulus: pennatus* 'winged': Tert. *Ad Nat.*, see sub *ignitulus. peregrinulus: peregrinus* 'estranged': Ven. Fort. *Vit. Germ.* 64.² *putidulus: putidus* 'disgusting': Mart. 4. 20. 4 *Altera ridicula est, altera putidula. rabiosulus: rabiosus* 'rabid': Cic. *Fam.* 7. 16. 1 *Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas* (sc. litteras) *dedisti. rancidulus: rancidus* 'rancid, disgusting': Juv. 11. 135 *non tamen his ulla umquam obsonia fiunt Rancidula; Pers.* 1. 33 *Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus; Mart.* 7. 34. 7 *rancidulo loquatur ore. rapidulus: rapidus* 'rapid': Mart. *Capella* 8 sec. 704 *raanae sonitum desorbentis increpuit. quo terrore et rapiduli sonitus raucitate concussi eodem se quam plures convertere. rauculus: raucus* 'hoarse': Hier. *Ep.* 40. 2 *Volo corniculae detrahare garrienti, raucidulum³ se intelligat cornix. refractariolus: refractarius* 'refractory': Cic. *Att.* 2. 1. 3 *quod se ab hoc refractariolo judiciali dicendi genere abjunxerat, ut σεμνότερός τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος videretur. rubellus: ruber* 'red': Mart. 1. 103. 9 *Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli; Pers.* 5. 147 *Veientanumque rubellum Exhalet. rubicundulus: rubicundus* 'ruddy': Juv. 6. 425 *tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum Oenophorum sitiens. rusticulus: rusticus* 'rustic': Mart. 10. 19 *Nec doctum satis et parum severum, Sed non rusticulum nimis libellum; Aus. Idyll. Carm.* 7. 4. *Bissula, nomen tenerae rusticulum puellae. Samiolus: Samius* 'Samian': Plaut. *Stich.* 5. 4. 12 *quibus divitiae domi sunt, scaphio et cantharis, Batiocis bibunt, at nos nostro Samiolo poterio. sciolus: sciens* 'knowing': Hier. *Ep.* 125. 16 *Qui vero pauperes sunt et tenui substantiola, videntur sibi scioli. sordidulus: sordidus* 'sordid': Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 63 *Servulorum sordidulorum*

¹ Often translated 'somewhat envious,' e.g. by W. E. Weber: "Alles geeignet zum Neid, wer halbweg neiget zur Misgunst." This is possible because *lividulus* may have been originally a color term meaning 'somewhat blue,' for which cf. the group of secs. 44 ff.

² The passage is not accessible to me.

³ The text is uncertain. Others have *rancidulum*.

scorta diobolaria; Juv. 3. 149 *Si toga sordidula est. timidule* (adverb): *timidus* 'timid': App. M. 4. 8 *timidule per balneas et aniles cellulas reptantes scrutariam facitis. torosulus*: *torosus* 'muscular': Hier. Ep. 117. 8 *Dolet sibi praelatum juvenem, non quidem comatum, non vestium sericarum, sed torosulum et in sordibus delicatum. turbidulus*: *turbidus* 'confused': Prud. Apoth. 208 *Turbidulos sensus et litigiosa fragosis Argumenta modis concludent numen in unum. unctulus*: *unctus* 'anointed': Varr. ap. Non. 179. 8 *alii ita sunt circumtonsi et terti atque unctuli, ut mangonis esse videantur servi. vetulus*: *vetus* 'old': Plaut. Merc. 2. 2. 43 *vetulus decrepitis senex*; Cic. Lael. 19. 67 *ut equis vetulis teneros antepone soleamus*; Mart. 8. 79. 1 *Omnes aut vetulas habes amicas Aut turpes vetulisque foediores.*

The following words end in *-culo*:- *acriculus*: *acer* 'sharp, testy': Cic. Tusc. 3. 17. 38 *ille acriculus . . . senex Zeno. hilariculus*: *hilaris* 'cheerful': Sen. Ep. 23. 4 *an tu existimas quemquam soluto vultu, et ut isti delicati loquuntur, hilariculo¹ mortem contemnere? jactanticulus*: *jactans* 'boasting': Aug. Adv. Ac. 3. 8 *ille Academicus jactanticulus. montaniculus*: *montanus* 'belonging to a mountain' occurs in Charis. 128 P without context, and is placed here only because contempt would seem to be the most probable use for such a diminutive. *turpiculus*: *turpis* 'homely, base': Cat. 41. 3 *Ista turpiculo puella naso*; Cic. De Or. 2. 61. 248 *jocus in turpiculis et quasi deformibus (sc. rebus) ponitur. subturpiculus*: *subturpis* 'somewhat disgraceful': id. Att. 4. 5. 1 *subturpicula mihi videbatur esse παλιψόδια.*

VI. DIMINUTIVES OF QUALITY

43. In the last three chapters many words have been classified as real diminutive, hypocoristic, and deteriorative adjectives which are translated in the lexicons as diminutives of quality: e.g. *floridulus*, classified above as hypocoristic, is rendered 'somewhat blooming.' Harpers' *Lexicon* e.g. seems to have rendered similarly every adjective that possibly could be so rendered, even when it was directly opposed to the spirit of the passage quoted. Thus of *tenellulus* (sec. 34) Platner, *A. J. of Phil.* 16. 190, remarks: "'somewhat tender' is manifestly wrong," because it is used in a passage in which the compliment to a maiden would be made frigid and altogether

¹ Instead of *hilariculo* some manuscripts have *hilarī oculo*.

spoilt by the statement that she is 'more delicate than a *somewhat* tender kid.' On the contrary, the hypocoristic interpretation of the suffix increases the compliment as intended by the poet. Similarly *ebriolus* (sec. 41) is translated 'somewhat intoxicated'—surely a very effective display of scorn to address one as '*somewhat* intoxicated person'! And aside from many other passages like the foregoing, the lexicon frequently translates in the same way adjectives used in exclamations, e.g. *quam ferocula est!* (sec. 39), or adjectives modified by an adverb meaning 'very,' e.g. *valde audaculum* (sec. 39). Such examples show that it is not worth while to recognize in every case the translation of the lexicons, but rather to interpret without reference to them. My assumption so far has been that whenever in a certain category of adjectives the translation as diminutives of quality is impossible in many instances and never necessary, that then all doubtful instances will also not belong to this group even when a single passage would admit such an interpretation.

44. Applying this principle, we find that with the exception of derivatives from adjectives designating a large size, in which the notion '*somewhat* large' is derived from the diminutive idea (secs. 21 f.), and adjectives like *sub-turpiculus* 'somewhat base' (sec. 42), in which the idea of approximation to the primitive is derived from the prefix instead of the suffix, diminutives of quality are so rare that one is almost led to doubt their existence altogether, and at the most they are confined to color terms and one or two others. But even diminutive color adjectives by no means always express an approximation to the primitive, but may be deteriorative (*rubicundulus* sec. 42) and frequently are hypocoristic, e.g. *candidulus* (sec. 31) or *mulleolus* (sec. 31). The question is, whether *all* such adjectives are not rather deteriorative or hypocoristic, whether the notion of approximation to the primitive is ever necessary.

45. The answer to this question is difficult because of the loose use of color terms in general. Whatever is reddish can also be designated as red, as when we speak of copper as the red metal. Consequently the use of a derivative in such cases proves nothing when the primitive itself may be used of the same thing, but, on the other hand, it disproves nothing. When, however, the derivative occurs only when there is a mere approximation to the color of the

primitive, we have a right to conclude that that force is added by the suffix. Even when this is not true we have a right to surmise the same thing when those passages where the derivative designates the normal color are plainly hypocoristic or deteriorative. On the other hand, these emotional elements may be the real cause for the adding of the suffix even when the color happens to merely be an approximation to that of the primitive. Consequently passages from unemotional prose writers like Cato or Pliny are of the greatest value in establishing the existence of diminutives of quality.

46. The following color terms seem to me most probably to be diminutives of quality: *albidulus* 'whitish': *albidus*. It is used of the color of the juice from drying pears: Pall. 3. 25. 12 *post mensem tertium suspensae hae carnes* (sc. *pirorum*) *liquorem dimittunt saporis jucundi sed coloris albiduli*. *albulus* 'whitish': *albus*: of water, Mart. 12. 98. 4 *Albula naverum per freta pandit iter*; of a species of fig, Macr. Sat. 3. 20. 1. *flammeolus* 'somewhat flame-colored': *flammeus*: of the yellow color of the *caltha* (marigold?), Col. 10. 307 *Pressaque flammeola rumpatur fiscina caltha*. The primitive designates a fiery red instead of yellow. Possibly the difference is accidental and the derivative is hypocoristic. *fulgidulus* (: *fulgidus*) possibly 'somewhat shining,' though it may be hypocoristic: Ter. Maur. v. 225 *Instar tituli fulgidula notabo milto*. *helv(e)olus* 'yellowish': *helvus* 'light bay': of the color of a certain kind of wine, Cato R.R. 6. 4, 24. 2; of the grapes, Col. 3. 2. 23 and Plin. 14. 2. 4 sec. 29 *inter purpureas nigrasque helvolae saepius variantes*. *luteolus* (: *luteus* 'golden-yellow') is certainly 'yellowish' in Col. 12. 47. 9, where it is used of the olive when first turning from white: *Oliva pausea vel orchita cum primum ex albo decoloratur, fitque luteola*; probably also 'yellowish' in Col. 9. 4. 4 *luteolaeque et Sarranae violae*. In Verg. E. 2. 50, where it is used of the golden-yellow *caltha*, it seems to be hypocoristic: *Mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha*. *nigellus* (: *niger*) means 'blackish' in Pall. 3. 25. 12, where it is used of the color of wine. We may surmise that *nigriculus*, occurring only in a grammatical note, Varro L.L. 8. 40 sec. 79, was also 'blackish.' *pullulus* 'grayish': *pullus* 'dark-gray': of the color of a kind of earth (*terra*), Col. 2. 2. 19. *rubellus* 'reddish': *ruber*: of the color of certain vines, Plin. 14. 2. 2 sec. 23 *Proxima dignitas Nomentanis*

rubente materia, quapropter rubellas adpellavere vineas; of a bald spot, Mart. Cap. 8 sec. 804 *depile rubellumque calvitium*. **rufulus** 'reddish': *rufus*: of the roots of the mandragoras, Plin. 25. 13. 94 sec. 147 *radicibus binis ternisve rufulis, intus albis*. In Plaut. *As*. 2. 3. 20, where a certain *Saurea* is said to be *rufulus aliquantum*, there may be a deteriorative element. **russeolus** 'reddish': *russeus*. In Prud. *στέφ*. 11. 130 *russeolam saniem* refers to the blood of slain persons, so that it is not quite certain that this word differs from its primitive. Similarly **russulus** 'reddish': *russus*, which is used of a bandage: Capitol. *Albin*. 5 fin., and of a tunic: Val. Imp. *ap. Vop. Prob*. 4. **suffusculus**¹ 'somewhat brown': *suffuscus*: of the color of Egyptians, Amm. 22. 16. 23; of a Chaldaean, App. *M*. 2. 13.

47. There seems to be one diminutive of quality in the realm of taste: **acidulus** 'sourish': *acidus*. It is used of the taste of apples: Plin. 15. 15. 16 sec. 54 *Aniciana postautumnalia acidulo sapore jucunda*. It might be possible to assume rather a hypocoristic use here, but hardly when used of the taste of certain mineral waters, e.g. Plin. 2. 113. 106 sec. 230 *Lyncestis aqua quae vocatur acidula vini modo temulentos facit*.

48. Of the words of sec. 46 three, namely *helv(e)olus*, *nigellus*, and *rubellus* (cf. also sec. 42), are used of wines or vines, and with this group we may also compare the hypocoristic *vetulus* of sec. 31. By congeneric attraction to this group, which is thus partially hypocoristic in origin, arose **meraculus**: *meracus* 'pure.' It occurs in Plaut. *Cas*. 3. 5. 17 *Nisi haec meraclo se uspiam percussit flora Liberi*; Cels. 3. 19; Plin. 20. 19. 80 sec. 209 *opium ex vino meraculo si protinus detur scorpionum ictibus resistit*. There seems to be no indication of either hypocoristic use or of mere approximation to the primitive, and probably it did not differ from its primitive.

49. Mueller, *op. cit.* pp. 58 f. (note), would put in the same category also certain adjectives of material like *corneolus*: *corneus* 'of horn, horny,' but such a meaning is both highly improbable and not supported by the passage quoted, for which see sec. 25. We may then conclude that diminutives of quality are found only in color terms and in one adjective from the realm of taste. As to the

¹ The notion of approximation to the primitive is in this word due no less to the prefix *sub-* than to the suffix.

relation of this group to the preceding we cannot determine anything until after also examining the comparatively small group of adjectives in *-iusculus*.

VII. COMPARATIVE ADJECTIVES IN *-(i)USCULUS*

50. Since *-(i)usculus* is composed of the comparative *-ius* and the diminutive suffix *-culus*, it is to be expected that its meaning is sometimes merely a sum of the meaning of its two parts, i.e. comparative plus some 'diminutive' meaning, in which case we can hardly speak of a real conglutinate. We thus find a number of words in which the latter part of the suffix designates small size or is hypocoristic or deteriorative, and we will discuss these before the more characteristic cases in which the suffix designates an approximation to the primitive.

51. The suffix *-culo-* adds real diminutive meaning to the comparative degree in *minusculus*: *minus* 'smaller.' The emphasis on the small size already indicated by the latter is the cause of the larger suffix, and *minusculus* is not 'somewhat smaller,'¹ as is shown by passages in which it is contrasted with *maior* or *maximus*, not *maiusculus*: Cic. *Qu. Fr.* 3. 1. 4 *Rescripsi epistolae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula*; Varro *R.R.* 1. 58 *Cato ait uam Aminneam minusculam et maiorem et apiciam in ollis commodissime condi*; *ib.* 3. 5. 5 *minusculum aviarium, quod est conjunctum cum maiore ostio*. These passages show what should be the interpretation in other places where 'somewhat small' might be read into them, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 2. 51 *Addice tuam mihi meretricem minusculam*; Cato *R.R.* 12 *cupas minusculas X*.

52. In one word *-culo-* is certainly hypocoristic: *liquidiusculus*: *liquidus* 'liquid, soft'; cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 3. 1. 69 *leniorem dices quam mutum est mare Liquidiusculusque ero quam ventus est favonius*. The comparative suffix has its full force, and to translate 'somewhat more liquid or soft,' as does the lexicon, is out of harmony with the speaker's purpose, who wants to appear as tractable as possible. In *lautiusculus* 'somewhat splendid or magnificent' (App. *M.* 7. 9 *vestemque lautiusculam proferunt*): *lautus* we cannot tell whether the notion 'somewhat' is due altogether to the comparative suffix, while *-culo-* is

¹ Contrast with this *maiusculus* (secs. 34, 36, 38), which is 'a little larger' or 'somewhat large.'

hypocoristic, or whether the latter merely emphasized the former, or whether it combined both functions. The same is true of the adverbs *doctiuscule* 'rather artfully' (Gell. 6. 16. 2 *Nam cum esset verbum deprecor doctiuscule positum in Catulli carmine, quia id ignorabat, frigidissimos versus esse dicebat*): *doctus* and *altiuscule* 'rather high' (App. M. 2. 7. *russea fasciola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas*): *altus*.

53. Deteriorative interpretation for *-culo-* is certain when the comparative suffix denotes an excessive degree of a quality, which would exclude another suffix with the exactly opposite notion of 'somewhat.' In this case, then, the comparative suffix itself has a deteriorative meaning¹ which is strengthened by the *-culo-*. Such a word is *tardiusculus* 'too late or too slow': *tardus*; cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 380 (frag. 8) *Pol ad cubituram, mater, magis sum exercita Fere quam ad cursuram. eo sum tardiuscula*; Ter. *Heaut.* 3. 2. 4 *Ille Cliniai servos tardiusculus est; Idcirco huic nostro traditast provincia*. Similarly the adverbs *longiuscule* 'too far' (Sid. *Ep.* 8. 11. 14 *longiuscule* [i.e. six pages] *me progredi amor impulit*): *longus*, *plusculum* 'too much' (Varro *R.R.* 2. 7. 10 *cum conceperunt equae, videndum ne . . . laborent plusculum*): *plus*, *tardiuscule* 'too late' (Marc. Aur. *ap. Front. Epist. M. Caes.* 5. 7 *matuo ne Lorium tardiuscule venias*), and *saepiuscule* 'too often' (Plaut. *Cas.* 3. 5. 75 according to Priscian: *saepiuscule*² *peccas*): *saepe*. In the adjective *putidiusculus* 'somewhat disgusting or tedious' (Cic. *Fam.* 7. 5. 3 *Símus enim putidiusculi, quamquam per te vix licet*): *putidus* the suffix *-culo-* may either be deteriorative or it may emphasize the idea 'somewhat' which was already present in the comparative suffix.

54. The remaining adjectives in *-(i)usculus* probably all show the notion of an approximation to the primitive. Fully half of these, however, are derivatives of adjectives denoting a large size, quantity, number, or extent: *altiusculus*, *ampliusculus*, *auctiusculus*, *grandiusculus*, *graviusculus*, *largiusculus*, *longiusculus*, *maiusculus*, *plusculus*, and *complusculi*, to which may be added the adverb *diuscule*, derived from the primitive adverb *diu* 'long.' Here it is doubtful how far the notion of 'somewhat large' is to be derived from the diminutive use of the suffix, inasmuch as e.g. *maiusculus* 'somewhat

¹ Cf. Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1^a. 685.

² The manuscripts of Plautus here have *saepicula*.

large' or 'a little larger' could originally have been 'rather large' plus 'small' or 'larger' plus 'small'; cf. secs. 21 f. While the notion of small size may thus have played a part here also, it is not probable that the whole category arose in that way, since the prehistoric relationship of the suffix *-(i)usculus* (sec. 11) leads us to assume the presence of the idea of approximation to the primitive from the beginning, and because we have to assume that meaning anyway for derivatives from comparatives where this development is out of the question. All the remaining words will consequently be treated together, and will be rather classified according to the signification of the comparative part of the suffix.

1. *The Comparative Suffix Distinctly Compares with Other Things Possessing the Same Quality in an Inferior Degree*

55. The diminutive suffix *-culo-* then adds to the comparative suffix the notion of approximation, e.g. while *melius-* is 'better,' *meliusculus* is 'approximately or somewhat or a little better.' In this case there is no conglutination semantically, and comparative as well as diminutive suffix retains its own force.

56. *Collection of examples.*—*duriusculus* 'rather more hard': *durus*: Plin. *N.H.* praef. sec. 2 *duriusculum se fecit* (sc. *Catullus*) *quam volebat existimari*; Plin. *Ep.* 1. 16. 5 *inserit . . . mollibus levibusque duriusculos quosdam. fortiusculus* 'somewhat more brave': *fortis*: Sutr. ap. Fulg. *Myth.* 3. 8 *Murrinum mihi adfers quo virilibus armis occurrem fortiuscula. frigidiusculus* 'rather more frigid': *frigidus*: Gell. 3. 10. 16 *Haec Varro . . . scripsit admodum conquisite. Sed alia quoque ibidem congerit frigidiuscula. graviusculus* 'a little heavier': *gravis*: id. 1. 11. 13 *qui fistula brevi sensim graviusculum sonum inspiraret. largiusculus* 'rather more copious': *largus*: Sol. 7 sec. 4 *subnexus parvulis largiusculos haustus facit salivarum. longiusculus* 'a little longer': *longus*: Cic. *Arch.* 10. 25 *epigramma . . . alternis versibus longiusculis. maiusculus* 'a little larger': *maior* (comp.): Ter. *Eun.* 3. 3. 21 *Thais quam ego sum maiusculast*; Plin. 26. 6. 16 sec. 30 *folia sunt maiuscula quam hederarum. meliusculus*¹ 'somewhat better, convalescent': *melior* (comp.):

¹ Mueller here declared the suffix to be hypocoristic, as indeed he did generally for the words in *-(i)usculus*. This mistake was due to his idea that the hypocoristic use was the earliest for all diminutives, and that other meanings could consequently be allowed only where there was no way of reading a hypocorism into a passage.

Plaut. *Capt.* 5. 2. 6 *Si eris verax, tua ex re facies—ex mala meliusculam*; Ter. *Hec.* 3. 2. 19 *salvan Philumenast? PAM. meliusculast*; Sen. *Ben.* 1. 3 *aetate autem minore quam Horas sed meliuscula facie*; Col. 9. 3. 2 *alias infusci coloris, alias coloris meliusculae*. Similarly the adverb **meliuscule** e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 16. 5. 1 *cum meliuscule tibi esset*. **nitidiusculus** 'even a little more shining': **nitidus**: Plaut. *Ps.* 1. 2. 91 *Num quopiam est hodie tua tuorum opera conservorum Nitidiusculum caput? aut num ipse pulmento utor magis Unctiusculo?* **plusculus**: 'somewhat more': **plus**: Col. 12. 49. 5 *deinde exiguum aceti piperati, et plusculum mellis aut mulsi adiciunt*; App. *M.* 2. 17 *Ad cuius noctis exemplar astruximus alias plusculas*; Cic. *Fam.* 5. 12. 3 *plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas*. The neuter as an adverb e.g. Sid. *Ep.* 4. 16 *deque moribus amici plusculum recto secus credere*. **unctiusculus** 'even a little more unctuous': **unctus**: see sub **nitidiusculus**.

2. The Comparative Suffix Itself Designates a Mere Approximation to the Primitive

57. When the diminutive suffix **-culo-** is added to a comparative like **altius** in the meaning 'rather high,' it merely emphasizes this notion of approximation without adding anything new, and consequently the two suffixes were no doubt usually felt as one, i.e. real conglutination has taken place.

58. Collection of examples.—**altiusculus** 'rather high': **altus**: Suet. *Aug.* 73 *calciamentis altiusculis* (sc. *usus est*), *ut procerior, quam erat, videretur*. **ampliusculus** 'rather large': **amplus**: App. *Mag.* 75 *Quid enim faciat homo miser ampliuscula fortuna devolutus?* **auctiusculus** 'rather lofty': **auctus**: Jul. Val. 2. 13 *eorum cornibus frondentes et auctiusculos ramos adnecti iubet*. **celeriuscule** 'rather (more) swiftly': **celer**: Auct. *Her.* 3. 14. 245 *Strenue quod volumus ostendere factum, celeriuscule dicemus*. **diuscule** 'rather long': **diu**: Aug. *Trinit.* 3 *cum diuscule attenderemus*. **grandiusculus** 'fairly well grown up': **grandis**: Ter. *And.* 4. 5. 19 *nam fere Grandiuscula¹ profectast illinc*. **maiusculus** 'rather large': **maior**: Cic. *Fam.* 9. 10. 3 *cum mihi sit incertum, tranquillone sis animo, an, ut in bello, in aliqua maiuscula cura negotio versere*. **mitiusculus** 'comparatively

¹ Fleckeisen would here read *grandicula*.

mild': *mitis*: Cael. Aur. *Acut. praef.* 18,¹ of fevers. *pinguiusculus* 'somewhat fat, fattish': *pinguis*: Sol. 11. 21 *plurimum se aquilonibus credunt* (sc. *coturnices aves*), *ut corpora pinguiuscula atque eo tarda facilius provehat . . . spiritus*. *plusculi* and oftener *complusculi* 'rather many, quite a few, several': *plus*: the former, App. M. 3. 21 *arcula quadam reclusa pyxides plusculas inde depromit*; the latter, e.g. Plaut. *Rud.* 1. 2. 43 *jam hos dies complusculos*; Gell. 7. 11. 6 *Sed ex eo loco M. Tullii verba compluscula libuit ponere* (i.e. 125 words). *salsiusculus* 'rather salty': *salsus*: Aug. *Conf.* 8. 3. 7 *Et ebriosi quaedam salsiuscula comedunt, quo fit molestus ardor*.

59. It is to be noticed that the large majority of these words are post-Augustan. Their occurrence in Plautus and Cicero shows indeed that some of them were as early as other uses of the suffix, as might be expected, since the use of the comparative to designate an approximation to the primitive is a pro-ethnic one,² but the comparative frequency of these words in very late writers shows that the conglutinate *-(i)usculus* had been abstracted as a single suffix, and now formed new words with the notion of an approximation to the primitive without reference to the meaning of the comparative degree.

VIII. CONCLUSION

60. We thus see that those diminutive adjectives which denote an approximation to the quality of the primitive adjective, i.e. diminutives of quality, fall into three distinct groups: (1) derivatives from adjectives meaning 'large,' 'old,' etc. (secs. 21 ff.), ending either in *-lo-* or *-culo-*; (2) color adjectives and *acidulus* (secs. 45 ff.), all certain ones ending in *-lo-*, possibly one in *-culo-*; (3) derivatives in *-culo-* from comparatives in *-ius*. In secs. 11 f. we saw that such adjectives in *-culo-* inherited the notion of an approximation to the primitive adjective from I.E. *-ko-*, while in secs. 21 f. it appeared that the first class was derived from the meaning of small size. This is certainly true for those in *-lo-*, and may have had its influence on those in *-culo-* also. There is left to explain the use of *-lo-* in color terms and *acidulus*, the question being whether (cf. sec. 12) there is a way by which the color terms could be derived from the derivatives

¹ The passage is not accessible to me.

² Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 658 f.

of adjectives of large size, or whether we must appeal to prehistoric syncretism with *-culo-*. I for my part have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the correct alternative, since there seems to be no possible bridge by which the usage could be extended from adjectives of large size, in which the suffix would always still be felt as connected with the designation of small size, to color terms, for which such an interpretation is clearly impossible. Moreover, such a development seems to be altogether without analogy in other languages. The only objection to syncretism with *-culo-* is the fact that there is extant not a single certain color diminutive of quality in this suffix, but this may well be accidental and due to the fact that long before the beginning of the transmission *-lo-* and *-culo-* were redistributed according to formal principles (sec. 11). This early age of the development is just what we would expect also from the fact that in every other respect the development of Latin diminutives was complete in the time of Plautus,¹ who shows examples of every important variation of the use of substantival as well as adjectival diminutives.

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¹ Cf. Stolz *op. cit.* 574.

² The numbers refer to sections.

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 tumidulus 26.
 turgidulus 3 n., 32.
 turpiculus 42.
 ullus 18.
 umidulus 34.
 unctiusculus 56.
 unctulus 42.
 uvidulus 33.
 vagulus 32.
 valentulus 11, 34.
 vastulus 41.
 venustulus 31.
 vesculus 18, 38, 42.
 vetula 3.
 vetulus 3, 23 n., 31, 34.
 vetusculus 21, 23, 48.
 vitreolus 31.

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Ψυχρότης ἢ τὸ Ψυχρόν

BY LARUE VAN HOOK

In this paper I wish to consider the meaning and history of an interesting metaphorical technical term of Greek rhetoric and literary criticism, namely, *ψυχρότης* or its equivalent *τὸ ψυχρόν* (Latin, *frigus* and *frigidum*).

Ψυχρότης is a comprehensive term referring to a certain vice, or rather to certain vices, of style (all too prevalent from Gorgias, perhaps the earliest great offender, to the present day), vices which received serious consideration from the literary critics and rhetoricians. "Frigidity," the literal and obvious English equivalent, is the most convenient rendering, although it needs explanation and qualification. "Fustian" translates the term more exactly.

The earliest formal treatment of *ψυχρότης*, which is also the *locus classicus* for its discussion, is to be found in the *Rhetoric*¹ of Aristotle, where *τὰ ψυχρά*, or frigidity in language or style, are said to arise from four causes, (1) compound words (*ἐν τοῖς διπλοῖς ὀνόμασιν*); (2) the use of obscure, foreign, or obsolete words (*τὸ χρῆσθαι γλώτταις*); (3) epithets, long, *mal-apropos*, or too numerous (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, μακροῖς, ἢ ἀκαίροις ἢ πυκνοῖς*); (4) metaphors (*ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς*), i.e., metaphors which are inappropriate (*ἀπρεπεῖς*) because they are ludicrous (*διὰ τὸ γελοῖον*), or too high-sounding and pompous (*διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν ἄγαν καὶ τραγικόν*), or obscure because far-fetched (*ἀσαφεῖς δέ, ἂν πόρρωθεν*).

To make his meaning clear Aristotle gives examples of these *ψυχρά* quoted from the sophist-rhetoricians, Lycophron, Gorgias, and Alcidas, some of which we shall briefly consider.

1. Frigidities in compound words are exemplified by Lycophron's *τὸν πολυπρόσωπον οὐρανὸν τῆς μεγαλοκορύφου γῆς*, "many-faced heaven of the mountain-topped earth," and *ἀκτὴν στενοπόρον*, "narrow-passaged shore"; by Gorgias' *πτωχόμουσος κόλαξ*, "beggar-witted flatterer," and Alcidas' *πυρίχρων*, "flame-colored," of the countenance, and *κυνόχρων*, "the dark-blue-colored bottom of the sea." All these, says

¹ iii. 3.

Aristotle, are poetical in their nature because of the doubling, and, as he later affirms, "such compounds are serviceable for the composers of *dithyrambs*."

2. As examples of frigid γλῶτται Aristotle cites the following: Lycophron calls Xerxes a *πέλωρον ἄνδρα* (*πέλωρος*, "huge, mammoth," frequent in Homer, was obsolete in Aristotle's time), and Sciron a *σίννις* ("destroyer") *ἀνήρ*. Objection is also made to Alcidas' use of the words *ἄθυρμα*, "toy," and *τεθηγμένον*, "whetted," (of *ὀργή*), both poetical words.

3. Frigid epithets in prose are *λευκόν*, "white," of *γάλα*; *ὕγρον* of *ἰδρῶτα*, "moist sweat." It is reprehensible of Alcidas to speak of *εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανήγυριν*, "to the assembled concourse of the Isthmian Games," instead of simply *εἰς Ἰσθμία*; to refer to *τοὺς τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖς νόμους* "the laws, the *potentates of cities*," for *τοὺς νόμους*, and he does not say simply, *κλάδοις*, "with branches," but *τοῖς τῆς ὕλης κλάδοις*, "with the branches of the forest," etc.

4. The fourth cause of frigidity is to be found in inappropriate metaphors. Two examples are taken from Gorgias, *χλωρὰ καὶ ἔναιμα τὰ πράγματα*, "things or events *green and full of blood*," and *σὺ δὲ ταῦτα αἰσχροῦς μὲν ἔσπειρας κακῶς δὲ ἐθέρισας*, "these things thou hast sown in disgrace and reaped in misery." We should agree with Aristotle that the first metaphor cited is overbold, but the graphic and admirable figure of sowing and reaping is of course common in all prose literature.¹

Two supposedly frigid metaphors taken from Alcidas are as follows: *τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτείχισμα τῶν νόμων* philosophy, "a fortress against the laws," and *τὴν Ὀδύσειαν καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον*, the Odyssey, "a fair mirror of human life."

Cope² affirms that Aristotle's objection to these last metaphors seems to show a change of taste from ancient to modern criticism. To a certain extent this is true. But Aristotle is objecting, not to the occasional use of such figures, but to the *constant* employment in *prose* of a diction and style appropriate to poetry. For such writers as Alcidas, says Aristotle, use poetical diction, *οὐ γὰρ ἡδύσματι ἀλλ' ὥς ἐδέσματι*, "not as *sweets*, but as *meats*."³

¹ Plato, *Phaedr.* 260 C; Cic. *De orat.* ii. 65. 26; New Test. ² Ed. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 46.

³ It is amusing to see how in this comment Aristotle himself has employed *ἀντιθεσις*, *παρονομασία*, and *ὁμοιστελεντων* in a manner which Gorgias might well envy.

In brief, then, according to Aristotle, frigidity in prose is caused by the use of poetical diction and the employment of extravagantly figurative language. As we shall see, Aristotle's treatment of τὰ ψυχρά forms the basis for subsequent discussions of the topic, but his definition, and the application thereof, is considerably enlarged by later writers.

In the treatise *On the Sublime*,¹ extant under the name of Longinus, we find a discussion of frigidity wherein τὸ ψυχρόν is said to be due to the craze for novelty, to the straining for the unusual, to the use of hyperboles, and to the employment of variations. τὸ ψυχρόν is caused by puerility (τὸ μειρακῶδες), the tawdry (τὸ ῥωπικόν), and the affected (τὸ κακόζηλον). Tumidity (τὸ οἰδοῦν) goes beyond the limits of the sublime, but puerility is the direct opposite to elevation; it ends in frigidity. Writers slip into these vices while striving for the uncommon (τοῦ περιττοῦ), the elaborate (πεποιημένου), and especially for the charming (ἡδέος), but they run aground on the tawdry and the affected. Of this frigidity Timaeus² is often guilty; e.g., Timaeus describes Alexander the Great as the man who gained the whole of Asia in fewer years than it took Isocrates to write his *Panegyric* urging war upon the Persians. So also Plato (according to Longinus), usually divine in style, when he meant simply δέλτους, "tablets," said κυπαριττίνας μνήμας, "cypress memorials."³ Another objectionable figure from Plato is cited: "As regards walls Megillus, I should agree with Sparta that they should be permitted to lie asleep in the earth and not summoned to arise."⁴

The general principles laid down by Longinus are to be commended; the examples which he chooses, however, are entirely unobjectionable. It must be confessed that in all the ancient critics and rhetoricians we find a bitter intolerance of many figurative expressions which are quite inoffensive according to our taste, and, in fact, often commendable. It is doubtless the novelty rather than

¹ Chaps. iii and iv.

² Sicilian historian, flor. 310 B.C. Another example of Timaeus' frigidity is cited by ancient writers (see Mayor, *Clas. Rev.*, XXIV). The burning of Artemis' temple at Ephesus on the day of the birth of Alexander is accounted for by the fact that the goddess was absent in Macedonia officiating in her capacity as Ilithyia at the *accouchement* of a new divinity. The frigidity of this conceit, says Plutarch (*Alex.* iii. 3) was enough to extinguish the conflagration!

³ *Legg.* v. 741 C.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 778 D.

the audacity of these figures which arouses distrust and provokes censure from the critics, who are prone to prescribe the limits of τὸ πρέπον with an academic narrowness which is sometimes painful. Would not much of Plato's poetical prose and many of Demosthenes' vivid periods be reduced almost to the commonplace if they were actually revised according to the drastic rules of the critics?

The extent to which Longinus is indebted to Caecilius¹ is impossible to determine, but it is certain that in this treatment of ψυχρότης he is following that writer. In the beginning of chap. iv Longinus says that Timaeus furnishes many examples of τὸ ψυχρόν, but adds rather naïvely that he will give one or two only, since Caecilius has anticipated him in quoting the greater number!

Let us consider next the treatise *On Style* (περὶ ἐρμηνείας) attributed to Demetrius,² wherein are to be found many references to τὸ ψυχρόν with illustrative comment. According to Demetrius frigidity is largely due to exaggeration, to hyperbole, to distortion, and to the pompous or bombastic (ὑπέρογκον). The chief types of style have their corresponding or kindred vices. Frigidity is that which is neighbor to the elevated (τὸ γειτνιῶν τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ). Demetrius here gives us Theophrastus' definition of frigidity: τὸ ψυχρόν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπαγγελίαν, "frigidity is that which transcends the expression appropriate to the thought." This perhaps is the best, the most simple, and yet the most comprehensive definition to be found. A line from the *Triptolemus* of Sophocles is quoted as an illustration: ἀπυνδάκωτος οὐ τραπεζοῦται κύλιξ, "chalice unbased is not intabulated."³ Here the meaning is: a cup without a bottom is not placed on the table. The subject is petty and does not admit of such grandiloquence.⁴ Frigidity, according to Demetrius, may be in the thought itself; e.g., a writer (unknown) thus describes the hurling of the rock by the Cyclops at Odysseus' ship: "While the rock was traveling through the air, goats were grazing upon it"! Frigidity in a manner is analogous to imposture (ἡ ἀλαζονεία). An

¹ Cf. Caecilius Calac., ed. Ofenloch, p. 66.

² Cf. Roberts' ed. Demetrius, *On Style*, Index.

³ Tr. by Roberts; so also the definition of Theophrastus.

⁴ Roberts (*op. cit.*, p. 232) quotes as a burlesque on this style, *Rejected Addresses*, where Dr. Johnson's ghost is made to describe a door with a knocker and bell as a "ligneous barricado, decorated with frappant and tintinnabulant appendages."

elevated style on a trivial subject is reprehensible unless intended as a jest. The appropriate must always be observed: τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μικρῶς, τὰ μεγάλα δὲ μεγάλως.¹ Hyperbole² is the most dangerous of all figures because it suggests the impossible. There are three kinds: (1) of likeness, e.g., like to the winds in speed; (2) superiority, e.g., whiter than snow; (3) impossibility, e.g., her head struck the heaven. It is a proof of the genius of the divine Sappho that she can use the dangerous figure, hyperbole, successfully, e.g., more golden than gold, χρυσῶ χρυσότερα.³ Just why more golden than gold is an admirable figure while whiter than snow⁴ is an impossible and objectionable hyperbole, Demetrius does not explain. Doubtless the magic name of Sappho has something to do with it.

Demetrius has still more advice to give on our subject. Antitheses and parallelisms should be avoided, for they cause the style often to be frigid. The same evil also results from the constant introduction of metrical phrases in prose; likewise from the use of prose in poetry. And yet that composition is frigid which lacks good rhythm or all rhythm: e.g., ἤκων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, πάσης ἡμῶν ὀρθῆς οὔσης,⁵ "to this land of ours I now come, finding all of it aroused." This is not prose rhythm, says our critic, owing to the succession of long syllables.⁶

In § 6 Demetrius gives an illuminating illustration of a kind of frigidity. He quotes with admiration Xenophon's description of the river Teleboas: οὗτος δὲ ἦν μέγας μὲν οὐ, καλὸς δέ,⁷ "it was not large; lovely it was, though." Thus the short *colon* is appropriate to the subject. A frigid writer would have rendered the thought thus: οὗτος δὲ μεγέθει μὲν ἦν ἐλάττων τῶν πολλῶν, κάλλει δὲ ὑπερεβάλλετο πάντας, "this river was, to be sure, smaller than many others, but in beauty it surpassed all."⁸

¹ One is reminded of Aeschylus' defense of his *δγκος*, Ar. Ran. 1058 ff.

² § 124.

³ Frag. 123, Bergk.

⁴ Il. x. 436.

⁵ Scr. Inc.

⁶ Roberts (p. 233) quotes Pope, *Essay on Crit.*, "And ten low words oft creep in one dull line."

⁷ Anab. iv. 4, 3.

⁸ In § 121 Demetrius quotes this same example from Xenophon and cites a writer (unknown) who described a small stream as ἀπὸ τῶν Λαυρικῶν ὀρέων ὀρμώμενος ἐκδιδοῖ εἰς θάλασσαν, "rushing forth from the mountains of Laurium it debouched into the sea." Such a description, says Demetrius, would be appropriate to the Cataracts of the Nile or the mouth of the Danube!

Of all the ancient writers Demetrius treats most completely of τὸ ψυχρόν. He has made a careful study of the subject, as he regards this vice of style as particularly important. Although his discussion is based on Aristotle and Theophrastus, for he quotes from the former's chapter on τὰ ψυχρά¹ and gives us the excellent definition of the latter,² yet he handles the subject with considerable independence.

In the detailed textbook on Rhetoric of Hermogenes it is surprising not to find a chapter devoted to frigidity. However, the chapter "On Affectation"³ (περὶ κακοζήλου⁴) really defines also τὸ ψυχρόν, for it treats of the faults of style arising from excessive use of figures, from exaggeration, and the employment of the impossible, the incredible, the unnatural, etc. Extravagant figures are condemned by Hermogenes,⁵ as they make style harsh, heavy, and almost mean. Demosthenes is not guilty of this fault, but there are many examples in the wooden sophists (παρὰ τοῖς ὑποξέλοις σοφισταῖς). For they are guilty of very many frigidities (ψυχρεΐονται), e.g. they speak of vultures as living tombs, etc.⁶

In Greek Comedy we find numerous references to stylistic frigidity. It will be recalled that Euripides and Theognis are the two great sinners according to Aristophanes. Thus in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (848) we find "He [Euripides] is not ashamed of his frigid play, Palamedes."

But the most scathing obloquy falls to the lot of the poetaster Theognis, who was nicknamed χιών, "Snow," thanks to his habitual frigidity, an example of which is cited by Aristotle.⁷ It is likewise in the *Thesmophor.* (170) that we find the explanatory line: ὁ δ' αὖ Θεόγνις ψυχρὸς ὦν ψυχρῶς ποιεῖ, "since Theognis is frigid, frigidly he writes." The unkindest cut, however, is to be found in the *Acharnians* (138). Synchronously with the production of a tragedy by

¹ § 116.² § 114.³ περὶ εὐρ. Spengel *Rh. Gr.*, II, 256.⁴ Demet., § 186, thus distinguishes between τὸ ψυχρόν and τὸ κακόζηλον; the former arises from the elevated, the latter from the smooth (γλαφυρόν), style.⁵ περὶ ἰδ. 4, Spengel, *Rh. Gr.*, II, 292.⁶ Cf. also Longinus, chap. iii, for this same stock example quoted from Gorgias.⁷ *Rhet.* iii. 11. Theognis designates a bow as a φόρμυγξ ἀχορδός; quoted also by Demet. § 85.

Theognis at Athens deep snow covered all Thrace and the rivers were solidly frozen.¹

Theognis did not enjoy a monopoly in the production of frigid fustian. Alexis² speaks of a well of water actually ψυχρότερον Ἀραρότος. Araros was his rival, it may be superfluous to add. Machon³ reports a delightful gibe at the expense of Diphilus. It appears that the following conversation took place on the occasion of a call by that comic poet on the charming lady Gnathaena:

Quoth Diphilus: Upon my word,
Gnathaena's wine is cold as snow.
Why, yes, Gnathaena says, we poured
Your dramas in, to make it so.

But ψυχρότης is not peculiar to dramatists. In a fragment of Theophilus⁴ we find this repartee: "What say you to a crab [κάραβος]?" "That's frigid; I don't like orators." Carabus was an orator.

Lucian⁵ accuses the grammarians Zenodotus and Aristarchus of much ψυχρολογία when he is assured by Homer in person that all the verses suspected by those scholars are genuine. That is, those Homeric critics were guilty of ineptitude which was equivalent to lack of veracity. And so Hesychius gives ψυχρολογία as equivalent to ψευδολογία, but Photius in the *Bibliotheca*⁶ uses ψυχρολογία in the sense of ψυχρότης: the Sophist Choricus because of his extravagant predilection for figurative language εἰς ψυχρολογίαν ἐκπίπτει.

The last Greek writer, so far as I have been able to ascertain, who discusses frigidity is a certain Joseph Pinaros Rhakendytes, in his *Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς*, in a chapter entitled περὶ ψυχρολογίας,⁷ in which discussion the examples given, rather than the causes cited, are of interest. According to this Byzantine rhetorician, frigidity

¹ Cf. Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* chap. xix, who, commenting on certain contemptible historians, says: τοσαύτη ψυχρότης ἐνῆν ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπίαν χιόνα καὶ τὸν κρύσταλλον τὸν Κελτικόν.

² Kock, II, 364; cf. also Eupolis (Kock, 244): σκῶμμα . . . σφῆδρα ψυχρόν.

³ *Athen.* xiii. chap. 43, cr. by Rogers; cf. Martial iii. 25, who ascribes to the frigidity of a rhetorician the chilling of a hot bath. It will be recalled that Catullus (xliv) caught an abominable cough (*mala tussis*) from listening to a speech by Sestius. Cf. also Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5. 41 of Furius.

⁴ Kock, II, 474.

⁶ *Cod.* 160.

⁵ *True History*, 117.

⁷ Walz, *Rh. Gr.*, III, 540.

is a vice or fault of discourse (πλημμέλεια λόγου) which generally results from one of four causes:

First, from overdaring figurative language; e.g., "the wild-beast of affliction buries in my heart the tips of his claws and the points of his teeth." It would be better, says Joseph, to express the thought by a simile or comparison, i.e., "Affliction, like a wild-beast," etc. Thus the objectionable harshness of the figure is softened.

Secondly, frigidity results when in a serious discussion one descends to the ridiculous to excite laughter; e.g., if one, speaking of fruits which were not indigenous but imported, should call them *captives* (αἰχμάλωτοι), and that figs growing *senile* in their basket-prisons became *wrinkled*, and that the *pancratiast-pears*, crowded in their baskets, inflicted wounds upon one another.

Thirdly, frigidity is caused by the employment of a trivial style and from the comparison of the noble with the commonplace; e.g., as if one were to compare the king who worthily bestows on each of the deserving the appropriate honor with the clever cobbler who can fit a shoe to any foot. The reverse is likewise true and is to be avoided, i.e., the comparison of the petty with the great; e.g., to call a man or private citizen a sun, or to designate the starry heaven as a sown field or a robe spangled with gold.

But the worst form of frigidity according to the pious Joseph—and now we meet a new definition and application of the term—is the profanation of sacred writings, as by comparisons of sacred personages of Scripture with contemporaries; e.g., Moses with the Patriarch. Further, it is incongruously and boorishly frigid to drag foreign and Greek stories into ecclesiastical literature on sacred subjects. Such references are appropriate only in *encomia* on mundane rulers. Theologus is a conspicuous sinner, for in speaking of Jesus and the miracles he introduced Greek references by way of negation and insolence.

What is the origin of this metaphorical term? Cope says that the origin appears in Quintilian (ii. 4. 29) *fastidium movere velut frigidi et repositi cibi*,¹ words and phrases like stale food that have lost all their savor and become cold and insipid. Now this comparison of Quintilian is excellent, but it is of very limited application.

¹ Introd. to Arist. *Rhet.*, p. 287.

It is not intended to refer to all kinds of stylistic frigidity, but to the effect of the use of certain *trite* words and phrases only.¹ The true answer to the question as to the origin of the term is to be found in Aristophanes, who first uses the word metaphorically as applying both to compositions and to writers. The listener or reader who is keyed up in warm anticipation of the pleasure and the profit which are to result from an admirable literary production is chilled by disappointment; his interest is cooled by the forced, inartistic, exaggerated, or inappropriate style of the speaker or writer. Ennui and disgust ensue, which affect the victim in a manner comparable with the chagrin of Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, who, all agape in eager anticipation of seeing a play of Aeschylus, is chilled to the heart by the fatal announcement of the herald: "Theognis, bring in your chorus!"

It has been seen then, that the Greek critics are generally agreed that τὸ ψυχρὸν is the result of excess or extravagance, τὸ ὑπερβάλλον, as Theophrastus states. It is due to literary faults of commission and not of omission. The Latin *frigidum*, on the other hand, seems in general to refer rather to negative sins and to correspond more closely to the English term *frigid*, i.e., tamelessness, flatness, dullness, insipidity of style. It characterizes deficiency in fire or spirit.² Thus it is that, generally speaking, "frigidity" translates *frigidum* but "fustian" best renders τὸ ψυχρὸν.

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¹ Cf. Dem. c. *Mid.*, p. 551, 13: ἑωλε καὶ ψυχρά, "stale and cold," of ancient crimes.

² Cf. Cic. *Brutus*, 48. 178; 67. 236; *Orator*, 26. 89. *De orat.* 64. 260; 63. 256; *Ad Quint. frat.* iii. 3. 3; Tac. *Dial.* 39. 22.

HORACE AND VALERIUS CATO

By G. L. HENDRICKSON

II

THE ADVERSARIUS OF *Serm.* i. 10, AND OTHER PERSONAL ALLUSIONS

In a preceding paper, published in this journal (XI, 249), I defended the authenticity of the eight lines prefixed to this satire in the manuscript group F^A, as the opening of the poem in its original form. The essential reason for their deletion (when some years later the poet gathered up his scattered *sermone*s into a first collection) was, I held, elimination of direct personal reference to Cato. In interpreting the fragment I pointed out that between this original opening and the initial verses as finally edited by the poet there is present a parallelism of thought, which starts from the paradoxical designation of Cato as a critic of Lucilius and proceeds to a judgment of universal validity. That is, *Catone defensore* (of the original opening), who by his "emendation" had made unintentional confession of the faultiness of Lucilius, reappears in a generalized form as *quis tam Lucili fautor inepte* | *ut hoc non fateatur*. With this expression—*fautor inepte*—the adversarius whom Horace combats in the satire as finally edited is defined. It remains to inquire, therefore, whether in the final form, which has removed specific allusion to Cato, there still survive evidences of the identity of this adversarius with Cato. The limits of proof should be clearly recognized. One or two more precise hints may appear, but in general all that can be hoped for in the suppression of the name is to ascertain the character of the criticism to which Horace replies, and to consider its appropriateness to the person and environment of Cato as known to us from other sources.

Cato, it appears, was editing Lucilius, and naturally his work would conform to the usage established by Hellenistic practice. His edition would contain prolegomena, in which the editor would set

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forth such information concerning the poet's life¹ as was available, and express judgments, either of his own, or derived from his predecessors, concerning his author's models, his originality and dependence, the characteristics of his nature and of his style. The general manner is pretty well known from the Greek introductions which have come down to us, and from similar matter prefaced to the commentaries of Servius and Donatus.

If now we examine the body of opinion concerning Lucilius to which Horace replies, its analogy to Greek prolegomena, especially to Aristophanes and the Old Comedy, will appear very plainly.² The

¹ With the loss of Suetonius' life biographical fact and gossip concerning Lucilius have disappeared. Some slight hints of the biographical material which Cato's prolegomena may have contained are still discernible in Horace. Such is, for example, the reference (in ii. 1) to the familiar relations between Lucilius and Scipio and Laelius (*discinti ludere, donec decoqueretur holus*), with characteristic biographical anecdote. The story reported in this connection in the pseudo-Acronian scholia (*obtorta mappa quasi feriturus*) has all the traits of biographical gossip. If drawn from Suetonius, as is most likely, it goes back to a much earlier source. Probably the story of Lucilius' great facility in extemporization (*in hora saepe ducentos*) was also related, with some laudatory phrase (*ut magnum*), if not of the verses, at least of the technical fluency; just as Cicero holds up to praise the improvising skill of Archias (18), and as Cicero himself is reported by Plutarch *τῆς νυκτὸς ἑπὶ ποιεῖν πεντηκῶσια* (40). To judge by the general scantiness of biographical material for the second century (as may be seen even from Cicero's *Brutus*), it is not likely that Cato and his contemporaries were well provided with external data for the life of Lucilius. This defect they probably supplemented with material drawn from his own works. From this point of view the familiar lines, *quo fit ut omnis | votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella*, may be read in a new light. On this biographical method in general see Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*², pp. 65 ff. One of the pioneers of this slippery process of inference from the words of a writer to the events of his life was Aristoxenus, whom the pseudo-Acronian scholia *ad loc.* quote to adduce a parallel to Horace's phrase. But something more than the citation of a parallel passage underlies this allusion. It would seem to me that some early biographer of Lucilius had appealed to the practice of Aristoxenus in justifying the method of reconstructing the *vita senis* from his books.

² The argument of the satire, after the introductory affirmation of the faultiness of Lucilius, is constructed very simply and loosely (with the suggestion of extemporization) upon a series of objections which the *adversarius* advances, not in his own words, but reported by Horace with an introductory *at*.

3. at idem laudatur
20. at magnum fecit
23. at sermo lingua concinnus utraque
50. at dixi

The expression suffers slight modification in

64. fuerit Lucilius, inquam, etc.

From these as starting-points all the intervening matter grows. The *adversarius* does not participate as a speaker with direct objection, and it is wrong, I believe, to include any of his utterances within marks of quotation. In each case we could render the introductory *at* by "but, you say," etc. Cf. Ter. *Phor.* 1031 *at meo merito credo*.

interpretation of lines 7-19 I have already presented (Gildersleeve volume, p. 152) and my conclusions may here be summarized briefly: Horace criticizes a characterization of Lucilius framed upon descriptions of the Old Comedy, which emphasized especially its cutting wit and personal attack. It represented him as aiming to provoke laughter (*risu diducere rictum*), as harsh and unsparing in attack (*tristis*), as possessing the qualities of a poet and the vehemence of an orator (*modo rhetoris atque poetae*).¹ It would be easy to turn this into the vocabulary of the Greek treatises, *ζηλώσας τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας χαρακτήρα πικρὸς μὲν λίαν ἦν καὶ πάνυ γελοῖος, ποιητικὸς δὲ καὶ δεινός*, and such a transcription yields most immediately the atmosphere and spirit of the characterization, which lies implicit in the words of Horace. With these traits are contrasted the qualities which Horace demands and which Lucilius lacks—*brevitate opus est, sermone iocoso, urbani parcentis viribus*, etc. The antithesis is then summarized in the words *acre*, corresponding to Lucilius (and one aspect of Old Comedy), and *ridiculum*, corresponding to Horace's demands (and another aspect of Old Comedy). Then follow the significant words:

illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi;

but Hermogenes and that other (*simius iste*) have never read them, etc. The language can only mean that although they prate of Lucilius' dependence on the Old Comedy, they do not know that it possessed another quality than its harsh invective, namely humor, which Lucilius did not imitate. Now the description of Old Comedy which Horace gives at the beginning of i. 4 is a description exactly corresponding to the *acre*, which Horace here repudiates as an exclusive ideal of satire.² It contains no hint of that milder humor which Horace here assures us it possessed. It would seem to me, therefore, most probable that in connection with the characterization of Lucilius which Horace criticizes, there must have stood a description

¹ On the poetical and oratorical qualities of Old Comedy, and the transference of them to Lucilius, see Gildersleeve volume, p. 153. On the contrast between *tristi* and *iocoso*, *rhetor atque poeta* and *urbanus*, see *ibid.*, and Ullman in this journal, Vol. X (1915), 285.

² It is perhaps worthy of note that the definition of satire in Diomedes (Suetonius), *carmen maledicum . . . archaiae comoediae caractere*, corresponds to the description at the beginning of *Serm.* i. 4, but not to the conception which Horace here entertains.

of Old Comedy as an instrument of attack and invective, to which was attached the statement of Lucilius' dependence upon it, and a characterization such as we find here. In the reconstruction of this pre-Horatian comment on Lucilius, which I suspect is derived from the prolegomena of Cato, I should therefore venture to include, not only the characterization of Lucilius which is discernible here, but also the description of Old Comedy at the beginning of i. 4. If now we look at the situation more closely, we shall see that Horace was at pains to give conceded praise to Lucilius (*quod saepe multo urbem defricuit charta laudatur eadem*) as a background against which to express his vigorous dissent. That is, in i. 4 he takes from his opponent the praise of Lucilius (contained in the description of Old Comedy—to which *urbem defricuit* refers) down to the point of his emphatic dissent—*durus componere versus*, etc. But whether or not I be followed in including the material contained in the fourth satire, yet it will be plain that the characterization of Lucilius found in the tenth, which Horace opposes, is the work of a scholar familiar with the critical manner and the terminology of the grammarians who had edited the Greek comic poets, and it will not, therefore, seem alien to the character of Cato.

Proceeding in the same manner, let us take up the two following objections of the adversarius.

at magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis
miscuit.

at sermo lingua concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.

In these words we have matter which might naturally have found a place in that section of a critical introduction which dealt with the authors λέξις. It was couched in terms of encomium which is common in such literature,¹ and ran somewhat as follows: *magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis miscuit. (nam) sermo lingua concinnus utraque suavior*, etc. Wickham comments: "An argument imagined for a defender of Lucilius, but hardly a serious one," and some such judgment is apparently the prevailing one. But this is to accept too

¹ Cf. Servius, preface to *Aeneid*, extr. *Unde constat perite fecisse Vergilium*. Compare also the constant use of *mire*, *mirum*, in the scholia, and Horace's expression in vs. 22, *quine putetis difficile et mirum*.

readily Horace's contemptuous dismissal of his opponents' praise of Lucilius. It would divert us too far from the present argument to consider fully at this point the important problem of stylistic theory which is here raised. In a subsequent paper, however, I shall hope to take up in larger connection the question of the employment of Greek words in Latin verse. It will appear that it was one of the mooted questions of the time: that the school of Cato, which is represented for us by the practice of Catullus, by poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and in some degree by early work of Virgil himself, did in fact cultivate Graecisms both of vocabulary and of style for effects of charm and novelty (*suavitas*), while, upon the other hand, a group of rigorous purists, led by Messala and represented by Varius and Horace, threw the influence of their doctrine and their practice into the opposite scale. The truth is that not a little of Horace's criticism of Lucilius looks past its ostensible object to questions of stylistic and poetical theory which were under discussion at the moment. Such are, for example, not only the stylistic doctrine of pure Latin as against Latin embellished with Greek, but considerations of the proper tone and spirit of satire, of repression versus exuberance, of popular versus esoteric appeal, of breadth in the choice of literary forms as against the narrowness of Alexandrine imitation.

The plain and obvious meaning of Horace's reply—*o seri studiorum*—has been somewhat obscured by undue insistence on the part of commentators upon its equivalence with the Greek *ὀψιμαθής*. Here at all events it means only, "You are behind the times with your enthusiasms" (*studia*, which is explained then by *difficile et mirum*); "we have excluded all that sort of thing from oratory and prose as you must know (*te ipsum percontor*)."¹ Who would do it in our day except a Pitholeon?" Horace thus sets on one side his adversarius, along with Pitholeon and the turgid Alpinus, with his "murdering of the king's English" (*dum iugulat Memnona*), while placing himself with Messala, the laboriously faultless orator (*exsudet*), Fundanius, Pollio, Varius, and Virgil. He fastens upon him thus the charge of praising impurity of style, while claiming for himself and his friends

¹ The mention of Hermogenes and *simius iste* has caused the address to the adversarius in *o seri studiorum* to pass over to the plural. With *te ipsum* it returns again to the singular.

that *Latinitas* (*patrisque Latini*) which was their highest title of stylistic praise.¹

Again at vs. 50 an objection of the *adversarius* is introduced—*at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum*, "but, you say, I called Lucilius muddy," etc.: to which the poet replies,

age quaeso
tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?

It may not be superfluous to indicate the perfect appropriateness of these words to Cato, as he is described for us by Furius in the lines which Suetonius has preserved—*summum grammaticum . . . omnes solvere posse quaestiones*. The technical science of ancient grammar grew up about Homer, and to the grammarian by special right belonged those *ζητήματα* (*quaestiones*), *ἀθετήσεις*, *ἀπορία* with which the Homeric scholia bristle. Some examples of the *reprehensiones* of the Homeric critics are given below.²

In vss. 64–67—

fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor
quamque poetarum seniorum turba—

reference again is made to a position of the *adversarius*, which might have been put in the form elsewhere employed, *at fuit Lucilius comis et urbanus, fuit limatior*, etc. I have interpreted this passage before and shown that the concession does not represent the poet's own conviction, but is made for the sake of the argument, and that in fact Horace does not concede either of these predicates. The words throughout must represent matter which Horace drew from an earlier characterization of Lucilius. *Comis et urbanus* indicate a characterization not different from Cicero's designation of Lucilius as *homo perurbanus*, and therefore entirely credible for the older standpoint of Lucilian criticism which Horace's opponent represents.

¹ Cf. *Serm.* i. 4. 13 *scribendi recte*, which is only a variant for *latine loqui* (*Latinitas*), just as *ὁρθογραφία* = *Ἑλληνισμός*.

² *Iliad* Θ 189, *γελοιώτατος ἐπὶ ἱππῶν ὁ στίχος: παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἀθετεῖται*; or A 129, *σολοικίζειν ὁρῶνται τὸν ποιητήν*. From such observations and others of a similar character arose the *ζητήματα* or *ἀπορία*: K 252, *διὰ τὸ πολυθρόλλητον ζήτημα*, and K 372, *θελόντες ζήτημα ποιεῖν*. See the indices of Lehrs, *Aristarchus*, and Ludwig, *Homerische Textkritik*.

With regard to *limatio*, etc., the estimate seems certainly exaggerated, in comparison, for example, with Terence, who would appear to us to have vastly more finish. But Cato was not the only one of the earlier critics to attribute elegance and finish to Lucilius. It is discernible also in the judgment of Varro, who named Lucilius as an example of the *χαλαρὴν ἱσχυὸς*, the *genus gracile*, which he defined by the words *venustas et subtilitas* (Gell. vi. 14). As for the rest of the passage, it is of peculiar interest and value to discern that the difficult and disputed line *quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor* has its origin in this earlier stratum of Lucilian criticism. I need not repeat with detailed argument (what I have urged in my earlier study) that it compares Lucilius, not with himself, but with any originator of a form of literature which had not the benefit of a Greek prototype. It recognizes him, as Horace does in vs. 48 and again in ii. 63, as the *inventor*—*εὐρέτης*—of satire. The passage is of great value, if I am right in recognizing Cato as Horace's opponent, in that it enables us to put our hand upon one at least of those pre-Horatian critics who recognized in the work of Lucilius the creation of a new type—a *carmen rude*—in form, if not in spirit and in matter, independent of the Greeks. It was an act of definition which it would appear had not yet been made in Cicero's day. For Cicero, Lucilius is merely an individual, with individual traits of a humorous or satirical tendency.¹

But though Horace dissents from the predicates of praise which his opponent awards to Lucilius, he does not bother with refutation. For argument's sake he concedes the points, and proceeds to show that such praise, even if true for the standards of Lucilius' time, is not valid for the present:

sed ille
si foret hoc nostrum fato delapsus in aevom
detereret sibi multa, etc.

It is the same type of criticism that we had above in the rejoinder, *o seri studiorum*.

¹ For a fuller exposition of the development from Lucilius to a *character Lucilianus*, and so to *satura* as a literary type, see the writer's paper "Satura—the Genesis of a Literary Form," in this journal, VI (1911), 140 ff. Since the matter is still one of some debate, I venture to record Leo's judgment (*Röm. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. I, p. 423): "Dass die Gattung zwischen Lucilius und Horaz nur der individuelle Lucilius ist, führt H. sehr gut aus."

Finally we may note that the *adversarius* is a poet, open to the reproach of cultivating popular favor:

neque te ut miretur turba labores,
contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

There is, I suspect, in these words some satirical thrust that escapes us. At all events it is plain that the lines would have point and significance only in the case of some poet of contemporary prominence. The spirit underlying Horace's words is one that can be observed at almost any time: the complacency of the little-read and minor poet (especially if he is supported by a clique or school) before the popular favorite of the day. The event of time has of course turned things upside down, and major and minor poet of 40 B.C. have changed places. It is possible, therefore, that this may be Horace's ill-natured interpretation of the contemporary vogue of Cato's poetry, whose *Lydia* and *Diana* were heralded by his admirers as immortal. That they might thus early have found their way into the general auditoria of the grammarians is made credible by the report that Caecilius Epirota, the freedman of Atticus and friend of Gallus, *primus (dicitur) Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse*. It would, however, be more natural to think of Cato's poetry as affording the material of poetical study and musical composition to his disciples—to Demetrius and Tigellius and the rest, whose pupils are called girls (*discipularum*), not perhaps because there were no others, but to characterize thus by innuendo the effeminacy of the whole school of poetry which looked to Cato as head.

In the case of the names of Demetrius and Tigellius, Horace follows the principle, which I have noted above, of keeping from his pages satirical mention of more important personages. In purpose and intention the words are aimed at larger game; but either from motives of restraint, or from some principle of exclusion, the humble followers are made to take the place of the master.

We have now completed our survey of the characteristics revealed by the *adversarius* whom Horace combats in this satire. It will be seen that the pertinent passages have had to do for the most part with a *fautor Lucili* whose praise of the elder satirist Horace represents as false or ill directed; once the opponent is appealed to as the

grammarian in the abstract who exercises his right of criticism upon Homer; at the end the vogue and popularity of the opponent's poetry is introduced for satirical treatment and contrast. It is needless to complete the chain of argument and add that these traits are in harmony with that which is known to us from other sources of the activities and position of Valerius Cato, grammarian, poet, and editor of Lucilius. At the same time it is obvious that they are too general to afford anything more than the possibility of such identification. More precise identification must come in another way. It has already been indicated, but may be repeated here: the adversarius of our poem as it stands is defined by the words *quis tam Lucili fautor inepte* in vs. 2. But, as we have already pointed out above, these words are the generalization of *Catone defensore tuo* in the initial eight lines. If, therefore, these lines be accepted as having formed the original beginning of our satire, it will appear that the adversarius of the remainder is a figure if not throughout identical with Cato, yet drawn from Cato and his school.

It is unfortunate that the names which Horace expressly mentions—Hermogenes (Tigellius), Fannius, Pantilius, and Demetrius—lead us nowhere in identifying the opposition. But the fact that they appear at all in Horace is an index of their obscurity and unimportance, so that it is not surprising that we can gather so little light from them. Some other allusions, however, are more significant. The mention of Varro Atacinus and Pitholeon Rhodius (both in the past tense) is doubtless to be explained by the fact that they are no longer living, though only recently dead. There is nothing to indicate that Varro of Atax is closely associated with the opposition which Horace attacks, since the mention of him is without satirical color. It is noteworthy, however, that he belongs in the general category of Alexandrinism, and is named by Propertius as a precursor in elegy, along with Catullus.

As for Pitholeon, it is a very brilliant and plausible conjecture of Bentley that he is identical with the M. Otacilius Pitholaus, whose *carmina maledicentissima*¹ directed against Julius Caesar are referred

¹ Concerning the character of these compositions, we have only the evidence of the scholia: *epigrammata effutivit magis quam scripsit*. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this tradition: his poems were probably abusive epigrams like the *carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum*, to which Tacitus alludes

to by Suetonius (75), and from whom Macrobius 2, 2, 13 quotes a witticism. The change in the name to another and related form is accounted for, Bentley observes, by the fact that *Pitholaus* could not be used in the hexameter. To this may be added the further suggestion that slight modification of it afforded a decent cloak for rather sharp personal allusion, and yielded at the same time a more distinctively Greek form suitable to the argument.

At vs. 30 *Canusini more bilinguis* we have a personal allusion which doubtless was significant to Horace and his audience, but it escapes us, unless, as the scholiast surmises, it refers to Pitholeon. That is, however, only an ancient guess, as the alternative form of the scholium shows, though a very natural and plausible one in the context of the passage.

Another personal allusion, which for Horace's time and circle had the value of a name, is contained in *turgidus Alpinus* in vs. 36. The testimony of the pseudo-Acronian scholia in this case is more valuable, since they give information which cannot be deduced from the context: *Vivaculum quendam poetam Gallum tangit*. That this identification is correct, and that the person here referred to as the "murderer of Mennon" and the "polluter of the Rhine" (with satirical reference to his Latinity) is in fact *Furius Bibaculus*, is a conclusion which modern scholarship has for the most part accepted. The reasons may be found briefly stated by Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Furii* 33 and 37.

There remains still one other personal allusion, noteworthy because of its abusiveness and of special value for our inquiry, since even without the initial eight lines it serves in a measure to define and classify the opponents of Horace—

simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.

It is obvious that no one can offer a conclusive answer to this riddle of identification, which at best can have been easy only for a limited

(*Ann.* 4. 34); and from Catullus too one could adduce some examples in this type of poetry of the same free use of Greek words which is criticized in Pitholeon.

The possible identification of this Pitholaus with the L. (V) *oltacilius Pilutus* (Plotus) of Suet. *De rhet.* 3 has been discussed by Hertz (*Rh. Mus.*, XLIII [1888], 312) and by Schanz (*Röm. Lit.*, I, 2^a, p. 119). There is undoubtedly much to be said for it, though the corruption of the names in the manuscripts makes a certain conclusion impossible. The main point for our consideration in such an identification is the fact that the

audience in the poet's own day. But I venture to believe that the general environment to which I have assigned our satire gives us the material for a pretty good guess at the identity of the unknown ape. That he was a person of some distinction or consideration (and therefore not the Demetrius of vs. 79, as the scholia say) may be inferred from the use of an epithet of disguise. Now then, if Cato were the prime object of criticism throughout, it will appear that *simius iste* is most naturally *simius Catonis*. The rest then is plain sailing; for our record yields us such a faithful satellite of the master in the person of the same Furius, referred to above, whose devotion to Cato and whose imitations of Catullus may both be comprehended in the opprobrious *simius*. His loyalty to Cato as well as his mastery of the poetical manner of Catullus are revealed by the two poems in hendecasyllables which Suetonius has preserved (*De gram.* 11), the one beginning,

si quis forte mei domum Catonis,

the other playing upon the theme of the forced sale of Cato's Tusculan villa,

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum.

In the ancient literature of satire and invective there are many examples in which some sort of relation is present between the fictitious names or opprobrious epithets employed and the real names themselves. The most common form of such relationship consists of metrical equivalence, though often it goes further and parodies the sound or form of the real name. A notable example of the latter type is the parody of the name of Tiberius Claudius Nero, which Suetonius (*Tib.* 42) reports—*Biberius Caldus Mero*, "propter nimiam vini aviditatem." To the same class should probably be assigned Catullus' *Volusius* for the polygraph Tanusius Geminus, perhaps with play upon *volumen*. In other instances only metrical and syllabic equivalence, with some characterizing but satirical significance, is sought. Thus Quintilian (vi. 3. 57) reports that Iunius Bassus, was called *Asinus Albus*. Of similar character would

rhetorician referred to by Suetonius is represented as a client and retainer of Pompey, whom he is said to have taught, and whose father's life he is reported to have written. He might therefore be added to the number of those grammarians and students from the entourage of Pompey who devoted themselves to Lucilian studies and imitations (*Marx*, *Prol.* li).

be our present example—*simius iste* for its metrical equivalent *Furius iste*, followed by words describing one aspect of his imitative nature.¹

EXCURSUS: A POSSIBLE FRAGMENT OF VALERIUS CATO

The word *urbanus*, in the transferred sense which it bears in lines 13 and 63, arose late in Roman usage. Mommsen, in the third volume of his *Roman History* (p. 577 of the sixth edition), called attention to this fact in these words: "Dass Wort und Begriff der Urbanität in dieser Zeit [the end of the Republic] aufkamen, beweist nicht dass sie herrschte, sondern dass sie im Verschwinden war, und dass man die Abwesenheit dieser Urbanität schneidend empfand." The principal text upon which this observation is based is Cicero *Ad fam.* iii. 8. 3 to Appius Claudius Pulcher:

Primum te hominem non solum sapientem, verum etiam ut nunc loquimur urbanum, non arbitabar genere isto legationum delectari.

The letter of Cicero dates from the year 51. One or two earlier examples in Cicero's writings might be cited, but without invalidating the general accuracy of this temporal definition *ut nunc loquimur*.² We may compare again his words in the oration *Pro Caelio* 33:

Sed tamen ex ipsa (Clodia) quaeram, utrum me secum severe et graviter et prisce agere malit, an remisse et leniter et urbane.

¹ Professor W. A. Heidel in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.*, XXXII (1901), p. xli (and more fully in *Class. Rev.*, XV (1901), 217 contends that the Furius addressed and referred to by Catullus in a number of his poems is Furius Bibaculus. To me the identification seems in every way most plausible and clarifying. The playful skit in which he is addressed about the location of his villa (26)—*Furi villula vostra non ad Austri*—will be recalled. A counterpart to this of a later time Heidel recognizes acutely in the hendecasyllables of Furius Bibaculus on the Tusculan villa of Cato, cited above. In similarity of conceit and of technique (especially the concluding line of each) the resemblance is striking, and whether we accept the identification proposed or not, it can scarcely be doubted that Furius Bibaculus was in fact influenced by the epigram of Catullus. Heidel's further suggestion that some of the Catullan imitations in the *Catalepta* are to be attributed to Furius is attractive and intrinsically plausible, but lacks evidence. One does not like to attribute the coarse but amusing parody of *Catal.* 8 (*Sabinus ille quem videtis hospites*) to Virgil, but, whoever the author, it would not be amiss to characterize him, with Horace, as *simius doctus cantare Catullum*.

² The meaning of *urbanus* in this passage is discussed by Lutsch ("Die Urbanitas nach Cicero," in *Festschrift für Crecelius*, Elberfeld, 1881). He holds that Cicero's expression *ut nunc loquimur* refers only to a new shade of meaning which Cicero had himself introduced, corresponding to a Stoic use of the Greek *ἀρεῖος*, comprehending "das Rechtsegefühl," or *iustitia*. This interpretation is derived doubtless from another letter to Claudius Pulcher (*Ad fam.* iii. 7. 5)—"addo urbanitatem, quae est virtus, ut

Here, without pressing the antithesis too closely, it is apparent that *urbanitas* (*urbane*) represents a quality contrasted with the *prisca severitas* of an earlier time. Again, in the *Brutus* (171) Cicero causes Brutus to inquire *qui est iste tandem urbanitatis color?*—and he makes reply as one seeking to define and set forth a conception which had not yet become formulated. From the beginning the idea of wit and cleverness of speech seems to have been present in the word as well as elegance and refinement, and in fact it seems clear that in ordinary usage this was the prevailing notion. A witticism marked by grace or elegance is *urbanitas*.¹ In the next generation after Cicero, Domitius Marsus (*qui de urbanitate diligentissime scripsit*) was obliged to point out that there were *quaedam non ridicula sed eleganter dicta . . . quae sunt quidem urbana, sed risum tamen non habent* (Quint. vi. 3. 102). It appears, in fact, that Marsus took a firm stand against the tendency to restrict the word to wit and humor. To that end he invoked the history of the word, calling attention to the lateness of its use in the transferred sense:

Neque enim ei de risu sed de *urbanitate* est opus institutum, quam, proprium esse nostrae civitatis et sero sic intellegi coeptam.

That the word in these transferred meanings (of wit, elegance, etc.) is really of the Ciceronian period, as is implied by the language of Cicero, Domitius, and Quintilian, may be seen, furthermore, from the fact that it does not occur in the *Auctor ad Herennium* except

Stoici rectissime putant." But Lutsch has taken the phrase too seriously. What Cicero missed in Appius in both passages was a sense of proportion and humor, the traits of a cultivated gentleman, which should have kept him from the morose sensitiveness revealed by his letters to Cicero. This appears clearly from the following letter (*Ad fam.* iii. 9), which Cicero wrote after the return of Appius to Rome: "Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Appio Claudio, plenas humanitatis officii diligentiae. Aspectus videlicet urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit," etc. Lutsch furthermore has failed to take account of the corroboration of Cicero's observation which Domitius Marsus (*v. infra*) affords ("sero sic intellegi coepit"), and in general he has neglected the history of the word. There are several other passages in the *Letters*, in which Cicero complains of the disappearance of the old Roman urbanity, just as in these two letters he missed this saving grace in Appius. In all cases he refers to one and the same quality—a cultivated sense of proportion and humor. Cf. *Ad fam.* vii. 31. 2; ix. 15. 2; *Ad Q. Frat.* ii. 8. 2.

¹ Cic. *Pro Caelio* 7: "(maledictio) si petulantius iactatur convicium, si facetius urbanitas nominatur"; *De or.* ii. 231: "explicare totum genus hoc iocandi . . . cum tantam vim et utilitatem salis et urbanitatis esse fateatur"; *De off.* i. 104: "alterum (iocandi genus) elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum facetum."

in the literal sense (*praetor, quaestor urbanus*), although there are several places, especially in the discussion of wit and humor, where it might have been employed, and in which connection its use is frequent in Cicero and Quintilian. Not much could be argued from its absence from the fragments of Lucilius, but in neither Terence nor Plautus is it found, though one or two instances could be named which show the starting-point of the later development.¹

In view, therefore, of these facts, what shall we say of the following passage from Quintilian (*loc. cit.*) derived from Domitius Marsus:

(Urbanum) paulo post ita finit, Catonis ut ait opinionem secutus: urbanus homo erit, cuius multa bene dicta responsaque erunt, et qui in sermonibus, circulis, conviviis, item in contionibus, omni denique loco, ridicule commodeque dicet. Risus erit quicumque haec faciet [orator].

It is certain, I fancy, that with *Catonis opinionem* Quintilian means to ascribe this definition to Cato the Censor. In this he is followed by all modern scholars so far as I have examined. Jordan places the fragment among the *Apothegmata*, and Gessner (quoted by Spalding, *ad loc.*) cited passages from Cato to show that it is in his manner. But if there is any truth in the history of the word as outlined above, it would seem impossible to believe that Cato could be the author of such a definition. That Quintilian entertained some shadow of doubt about its authenticity may be suspected from his cautious (and unusual, *v.* Bonnell, *Lex.*) phrase *ut ait*—a doubt which he might very well have entertained, since in viii. 3. 35, in quite another connection, he cites the remark of Cicero from the letter to Claudius Pulcher, which was our starting-point—*te hominem ut nunc loquimur urbanum*—in illustration of the statement that some words and meanings have come into very recent usage.

In fact, the definition which Domitius quotes as the *opinio Catonis* cannot be much earlier than the time of Cicero's letter, and therefore does not belong to the elder Cato. But apart from the meaning attached to *urbanus*, it is manifest that we have here the language of a technical definition which aims to comprehend a variety of conditions (striving toward universality in the manner of

¹ Ter. *Adelphi* 42: "ego hanc clementem vitam urbanam secutus sum," with whole context and antithesis; Plautus *Most.* 15: "tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli, rus mihi tu obiectas?" Trin. 202: "urbani assidui cires, quos scurras vocant."

scholastic definition): clever sayings spoken with or without the challenge of another¹ (*bene dicta responsaque*), under all circumstances of place and consequent style (*in sermonibus*, etc., *in contionibus*²), with due regard not only to wit, but also to suitability³ (*ridicule commodeque*). Is this the sort of thing that we can credit to the elder Cato? Scarcely. It belongs to the period of the technical discussion of such questions, and betrays the hand of the professional theorist or grammarian.⁴ I venture, therefore, to conclude that the definition was quoted by Domitius Marsus from his older contemporary, Valerius Cato, whom he referred to, in the same manner as is done by Catullus, Furius, and Horace, by the simple cognomen. The fact then that the elder Cato was a wit, and was quoted (as it would seem) by Domitius Marsus as affording examples of *urbanitas*, lead to Quintilian's hesitating attribution of the definition to the Censor.

Quintilian in his discussion does not make plain why Domitius quotes the definition of Cato, but the reason is obvious: it was to criticize it. *Risus erit quicumque haec faciet*—that is to say, Cato in his definition presents the point of view which Domitius was at pains to refute (*sunt urbana, quae risum tamen non habent*). To Domitius *urbanitas* was no longer merely a rubric under the heading *de risu*, but a quality by itself (*neque ei de risu sed de urbanitate est opus institutum, ibid.*).

¹ On this distinction cf. Cic. *De or.* ii. 230, and Quint. vi. 3. 14: "longe venustiora omnia in respondendo quam in provocando."

² Something could be said here with much plausibility, or even probability, for *contentionibus* instead of *contionibus*; for *contio* is only a specific and not a generic antithesis to *sermo*. The larger antithesis is *contentio* (-ones): cf. Cic. *De off.* ii. 48, "duplex ratio sit orationis sermo contentio," corresponding to the Greek *διαλέγεσθαι* and *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*. Cf. *De legg.* i. 11, and Quint. vi. 3. 14.

³ This point is strongly insisted upon both by Cicero (*De or.* ii. 237, "quatenus autem," etc.) and by Quintilian (vi. 3. 28, "refert his ubi quis utatur," etc.).

⁴ The expression *risus erit* is a colloquialism (for *risum movebit*) which need present no difficulty. It will be easily understood if we recognize this fragment as detached from a larger treatment of laughter (*de risu*), its use, and the means of provoking it. One section of this discussion was devoted to vocabulary or terminology. We may compare Quint. vi. 3. 17 ff. With regard to the final words—*risus erit quicumque haec faciet* [orator]—I have suggested, in view of the universality of the definition as well as of the unnatural use of a substantive with *quicumque*, that *orator* be bracketed as the addition of someone (scarcely Quintilian himself) who sought to limit the definition to oratory.

Now it is a curious circumstance that Horace, like Domitius, was at variance with the current estimate of that which constituted *urbanitas*. It has been noted above that Cicero called Lucilius *perurbanus*, and it is plain that he means this in the sense of "very witty."¹ Again, Horace in vs. 65 accepts for the argument's sake without conceding its truth, this same earlier characterization of Lucilius—*fuert comis et urbanus*. What these predicates connoted to Horace's opponent, and why Horace does not agree with them does not there appear, but a comparison with the fourth satire yields the desired explanation. At 4. 86 Horace draws the picture of the guest whose tongue does not spare his fellow-guests, nor even his host, in his desire to raise a laugh and gain the name of a wit—*qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis*. To Horace such a one is malicious (*hic niger est*): but to his opponent *hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur*. It is interesting testimony to the prevailing use of the word and to Horace's dissent from it. It was thus that Cicero had used the epithet *perurbanus* of Lucilius, it was thus that the judgment which Horace combats had called him *comis et urbanus*. The characteristic of Lucilius, like the guest of the fourth satire, in respect of wit was excess and lack of decent restraint (*risu diducere rictum*), which earlier criticism, including Cato, had called *urbanitas*. Horace's own conception of the nature of this quality doubtless embraced other things, but it is significant that he puts moderation in the foreground—*urbani parcentis viribus atque extenuantis eas consulto*.

Where or in what connection Cato had defined the *urbanus* it is impossible to say, but it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that his discussion took its origin from his Lucilian studies. In some such connection it would appear that Horace took cognizance of the same discussion which later provoked the dissent of Domitius Marsus.

NEW HAVEN

¹ See the passages quoted above, p. 89, note 1, and also *Ad fam.* ix. 15. 2, "*veteres atque urbani sales*." In *Brutus* 172, a passage drawn from a Lucilian scene, *nescio quo sapore vernaculo* is used to define *urbanitas*. Cf. also Porphyry. *Ad Hor. Serm.* i. 3. 40, "*Luciliana urbanitate usus in transitu amaritudinem aspersit*."

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CAESAR'S FIRST WIFE

We know that Julius Caesar was engaged to a rich woman of an equestrian family, named Cossutia, even before he had assumed the *toga virilis*; but opinions differ as to whether that engagement ever culminated in a marriage. Or rather it is more accurate to say that while at one time Caesar's marriage was often accepted as a fact,¹ today scholars are almost unanimous in declaring that he was only engaged to Cossutia and never married to her. Among those who state or imply that Caesar's relations with Cossutia never passed beyond an engagement are Baumgarten-Crusius,² Napoleon III,³ Merivale,⁴ Froude,⁵ Dodge,⁶ Warde Fowler,⁷ Sihler,⁸ von Mess,⁹ and Rolfe.¹⁰ This view is in fact found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹¹ Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*,¹² and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.¹³

The trend of opinion is clearly indicated by a comparison of the two editions of Drumann. In the first one¹⁴ Cossutia is named as Caesar's "erste Gemahlin," while in the revision of 1906¹⁵ appears the other view, accompanied by the statement: "Die Worte Suetons verbieten es, Cossutia als Caesars Gattin zu betrachten."¹⁶

The prevalence of this view and its appearance in works of such authority are the justification for a careful investigation of the scanty clues that can be discovered.

¹ Cf., e.g., the *Onomasticon* in Forcellini's *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s.v. "Cossutia," and Liddell, *History of Rome*, 640, footnote.

² See *Index Nominum Propriorum*, s.v. "Cossutia."

³ *Histoire de Jules César* (1867), I, 253, and n. 5.

⁴ *History of the Romans under the Empire*, I, 85, n. 3, and *Roman Triumvirates*, 37.

⁵ *Caesar: A Sketch*, 77-78.

⁷ *Julius Caesar*, 28.

⁶ *Caesar*, 40.

⁸ *Annals of Caesar*, 6.

⁹ *Caesar: Sein Leben, seine Zeit und seine Politik* (Leipzig, 1913), 10.

¹⁰ *Suetonius* in Loeb Classical Library.

¹¹ IV, 938 (11th ed.); the article is by H. Stuart Jones.

¹² IV (1901), 1674.

¹³ The *Thesaurus* (*Onomasticon*, Vol. II) s.v. "Cossutia" refers the reader to the article in Pauly-Wissowa.

¹⁴ III¹, 762 (1837).

¹⁵ III², 684 (n. 3) and 694.

¹⁶ Ferrero in his *Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma* (I, 126, n. 1) speaks only of an engagement, but describes Cossutia as Caesar's wife in his later work on *The Women of the Caesars* (p. 20).

The only place in which Cossutia is actually named is Suet. *Iul.* 1: "dimissa Cossutia, quae familia equestri sed admodum dives praetextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnae quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem." The key to the passage lies, of course, in *dimissa*. What does *dimittere* mean in Latin and particularly in Suetonius? In the following passages in our author the word is used of divorcing a wife: *Augustus* 62. 1; 63. 2; 69. 1; *Tiberius* 7. 2; 10. 1; 35. 1; 49. 1; *Nero* 35. 2 and *Domitian* 8. 3. It is also used in *Cal.* 25. 1 of ending marriages by divorce. In the *Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Lexicon* of Carolus Lessing (1901-6) one finds *dimittere* used of divorce in *Hadrian* 11. 3 and *M. A.* 19. 8. Valerius Maximus vi. 3. 10 and Justin xi. 11. 5 show the same use. But of *dimittere* in the sense of "to break an engagement" I have observed no instances.¹

On the other hand, on two occasions when Suetonius is clearly speaking of the breaking of an engagement, he uses *repudiare*, once of the dismissal of the intended bridegroom (*Iul.* 21) and once of the dismissal of the intended bride (*Cl.* 26. 1). This verb is, of course, used of divorce also, but its employment with reference to the breaking of an engagement is clearly attested both by these passages and by *Dig.* 50. 16. 191. Other expressions used of severing an engagement are *repudium mittere* (*Dig.* 24. 3. 38); *repudium remittere* (Plaut. *Aul.* 4. 10. 69 and *Dig.* 50. 16. 101, § 1); and *repudium renuntiare* (Plaut. *Aul.* 4. 10. 53 and Ter. *Phorm.* 4. 3. 72). Had then Suetonius intended to refer merely to a broken engagement, we have every reason to suppose that he would have used *repudium* with one of these verbs, or *repudiare* (as he actually does twice).

There is, however, one other passage bearing on the matter, and that is Plutarch *Caes.* 5: Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἡγάγετο γυναῖκα Πομπηίαν. . . . If Pompeia was his third wife, Cornelia must have been the second. Who was the first? The name of Cossutia is needed to fill the gap, for if Caesar did not marry her, Pompeia was Caesar's second wife. The prevalence, however, of the belief that Caesar did not marry Cossutia, is responsible for such statements as that of Hermann Schickinger:² "Πομπηία, zweite Gemahlin Cäsars. . . . Plutarch nennt sie die dritte Frau Cäsars, da dieser vor seiner Ehe mit Cornelia mit Cossutia verlobt war." In other words, Plutarch must be declared wrong here in order to support the prevalent opinion. Napoleon III disposes of these words thus: "Plutarque dit que Cornélie fut la première femme de César, quoiqu'il prétende qu'il épousa Pompéia en troisièmes nocés." The imperial author clearly used a mistranslation of Plutarch,³ for that writer never speaks of Cornelia as Caesar's first wife.

¹ In Suet. *Tib.* 7. 2 *ab urbe* clearly indicates that *dimittere* is used of actual sending away.

² In the "Erklärendes Namenverzeichnis" in his *Auswahl aus Plutarch*.

³ Cf. North's translation: "Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife, Cornelia."

If, then, Caesar actually married Cossutia, when did the marriage occur? How old was he at the time? It must, of course, have taken place after his assumption of the *toga virilis*; the words of Suetonius would of themselves imply that, even aside from the fact that it was only after its assumption that the youth might legally contract a marriage.

When he assumed it, we cannot of course be certain, as the event is not mentioned in what is extant of the Life. We may, however, safely infer that it was referred to in the lost beginning, for Suetonius mentions its assumption by the various emperors in the following passages: *Aug.* 8. 1; *Tib.* 7. 1; *Cal.* 10. 1; *Claud.* 2. 2; *Nero* 7. 2; *Galba* 4. 3; *Vesp.* 2. 2; he fails to mention it in the Lives of Otho, Vitellius, Titus, and Domitian, all among the later Lives and (save Domitian) the shorter ones. Moreover, where he refers to the assumption of the *toga virilis*, the mention is made at the proper chronological place in the Life. This being the case, we may surmise that, as the mention of Caesar's assumption of it was probably in the lost opening, the event preceded the first one alluded to in the extant Life. The opening sentence clearly implies a transition to the account of a new year, the sixteenth of Caesar's life. He must accordingly have assumed the *toga virilis* in his fifteenth year at the very latest, i.e., when fourteen years old. The event would fall, therefore, late in 86 B.C.¹ or early in 85 B.C.²

It was, accordingly, after this, perhaps in the year 85, that Caesar married Cossutia; one would fancy that it must have occurred before his father's death (between July, 85, and July, 84). Under the following consuls (i. e., in 84 or 83) Caesar married Cornelia after a divorce had been secured from Cossutia.

That the marriage with Cossutia followed the assumption of the *toga virilis* is not merely suggested by Suetonius' words but necessitated by Roman law. Thus Rossbach (*Untersuchungen über die Römische Ehe*, 411) declares: "Der Eintritt in die Pubertät giebt das Recht eine legitime Ehe einzugehen. Hiermit ist aber die Annahme der Toga virilis vorausgesetzt. Der Jüngling kann im Knabenkleide nicht heirathen, da auch das Mädchen bei der Hochzeit mit der Toga pura und der Tunica recta angethan sein muss."³

Such youthful marriages, on the part of males, as that here postulated (i.e., at fourteen or fifteen years of age) were not impossible among the Romans, though not at all common. Caesar himself must have married Cornelia when he was either sixteen or seventeen years of age. The term Ovid (*Trist.* iv. 10. 69) applies to himself at the time of his first marriage, *paene puer*, would exactly fit the youthful Caesar on the occasion of his

¹ This assumes Caesar's birth in 100 B.C.

² Sihler (*Annals of Caesar*, 6) suggests "possibly in March, 84"; I agree entirely with his reasoning, but the result would then, it seems to me, have to be March, 85.

³ Cf. also Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, I, 29.

marriage to Cossutia. In one inscription¹ we read of a gladiator who died at the age of twenty-two, and had been married seven years. In another² we find the following verses: "Intra ter quinos infelix occidit annos, Sic illi coniunx, sic toga pura data est."

It seems, therefore, on the basis of the invariable meaning of *dimittere* in Suetonius (and indeed, as far as cited, elsewhere in Latin literature) and on the basis of the passage in Plutarch *Caes.* 5 that we can hardly escape the conclusion that Caesar married Cossutia. The objection of Groebe, who revised Drumann's work, that Suetonius' words forbid our regarding Cossutia as Caesar's wife, does not seem to me sound. If one were to say: "Cossutia was divorced by Caesar; he had become engaged to her while still a *praetextatus*," the reader would readily assume (1) that a marriage actually took place, (2) that the engagement had preceded the assumption of the *toga virilis*, but (3) that the marriage had followed it. And does not Suetonius in the passage under discussion really say what has just been presented hypothetically? Indeed, of the emperor Tiberius these very words of Suetonius might have been used, for he divorced Vipsania Agrippina (Suet. *Tib.* 7. 2), to whom he had been betrothed while he was still a *praetextatus* (Nepos *Att.* 19).

To claim, therefore, that Cossutia did not marry Caesar, demands that we believe *dimittere* to be used in an unparalleled sense, and that Plutarch *Caes.* 5 be calmly set aside as incorrect. In short, what little evidence we have on the matter, all forces us to conclude that Cossutia was actually Caesar's wife.

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MAY A HERO HAVE A TEMPLE?

As his initial argument against the identification of the famous temple at Athens with the Theseum, Mr. Frazer (*Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, 153) remarks: "Theseus was not a god but a hero; hence his sanctuary was not a temple but a *herōon*. The distinction between deities and worshipful heroes was a sharp one in Greek religion; only a deity had a temple (*naos*); a hero had a heroic shrine (*herōon*)." In this connection the following list of individuals to whom *naoi* are ascribed by Pausanias is significant: Amphiaraus, at the Amphiareum in Attica (1. 34. 2); Ajax, at Salamis (1. 35. 3); Cyamites, along the Sacred Way (1. 37. 4); Triptolemus, at Eleusis (1. 38. 6); Palaemon, at the Isthmus (2. 2. 1); Clymenus, at Hermion (2. 35. 9); Caesar, at Sparta (3. 11. 4); Augustus, at Sparta (*ibid.*); Lycurgus, at Sparta (3. 16. 6); Menelaus, at Therapne (3. 19. 9); Achilles, at

¹ *CIL*, V, 2, 5933.

² L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, I^a, 469, n. 8.

Therapne (3. 19. 11); Roman kings, at Asopus in Laconia (3. 22. 9); Cassandra, at Leuctra in Laconia (3. 26. 5); Messene, at Messene (4. 32. 11); Iphigenia, at Aegira (7. 26. 5); Heracles, at Hyettus in Boeotia (9. 24. 3); Heracles, near Boeotian Orchomenus (9. 38. 6); Hercyna, at Lebadea (9. 39. 3); Trophonius, at Lebadea (9. 29. 4). Several of the temples are said by Pausanias to have had statues of the heroes, presumably cult-statues. If it be objected that these persons had been deified and virtually were gods, the objection may be sustained. Surely, however, if a *naos* may be devoted to Lycurgus, one may be allowed, a fortiori, to Theseus. Not that the temple at Athens must for this reason be the Theseum; other arguments to the contrary are decisive, but the argument in question will not stand. I mentioned this relation briefly some time ago (*American Journal of Archaeology*, XIII [1909], 57) without publishing the evidence, which has recently come again to my attention.

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NOTE ON CHALCIDIUS' COMMENTARY ON THE
TIMAEUS CCXXVIII

Wrobel's text reads: "Hoc loco calumniari solent homines, quibus veri indagandi cura nulla est. Dicunt enim Platonem in Phaedro quidem adserere animam esse sine ulla compositione proptereaue indissolubilem, in Timaeo tamen compositam rem confiteri," etc. Wrobel's index refers to *Phaedrus* 245C-246A. But neither there nor elsewhere in the *Phaedrus* does Plato affirm the soul to be "sine ulle compositione proptereaue indissolubilem." Chalcidius evidently had in mind *Phaedo* 78C, ἀσύνθετον, etc., and 80B, καὶ ἀδιαλύτῃ, etc. Chalcidius knew and elsewhere quotes the *Phaedo*. We must restore here in *Phaedone*.

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ῬΑΙΓΟΜΕΡΙΑ AND ΠΟΛΥΜΕΡΙΑ

These terms are used to describe "blemishes" (κακίαι) of the heroic verse in the two following passages:

A. Eustathius, 353. 39: ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον πάθος ἔχει ἂν λόγον κακίαν ἔπος εἶναι, καθὰ τὴν ὀλιγομέ[τ]ρ[ι]αν, ἣ θεωρεῖται ἐν στίχῳ ἐξ ὀλίγων μερῶν λόγον συγκειμένῳ, οἷον

κολλητὸν βλήτροισι, δύναι καὶ εἰκοσίπην (O 678).

εὐτελὲς γὰρ τὸ ἐκ δύο μερῶν λόγου, ἥγονον ὀνόματος καὶ συνδέσμου, ἥρῳον ἔπος συγκεκροτῆσθαι.

τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν πολυμέ[τ]ρ[ι]αν τρίτην εἶναι κακίαν ἔπος, καθ' ἣν στίχος ἀπὸ ἡρώτουται ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν λόγου συγκείμενος, οἷον

ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν (Z 253 = 406, etc.),

ἀπορίαν προβαλλεται. εἰ γάρ τὸ ἐκ πέντε μερῶν λόγον συντεθειμένον κακία ἔπος, διὰ τί μὴ πολλῶ πλείον τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἐκείνο τὸ σπουδαιότατον

πρὸς δέ με τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον (X 59) . . .

B. Anonymus Ambrosianus, in Studemund, *Anec. Var.* I, p. 215 (περὶ τῶν κακομέτρων στίχων, § 2): ὀλιγομερία δέ ἐστιν, οἷον

αὐτοκασίγητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου (B 706).

εἴρηται δὲ ὀλιγομερία ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν πάντα στίχον εἰς δύο μόνῃ διαιρεῖσθαι μέρη τοῦ λόγου.

πολυμερία δέ ἐστιν (οἷον),

ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φύ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν (Z 253, etc.).

εἴρηται δὲ πολυμερία ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῖς τοῦ λόγον συνέχεσθαι μέρεσιν· εἰς δέκα γὰρ μέρη τοῦ λόγου διήρηται.

Apparently both Eustathius (except in lines 10–12, on which see below) and the Anonymus derive their statements from the same source, although they give different examples of ὀλιγομερία (H. Grossmann, *De doctrinae metricae reliquis ab Eustathio servatis*, Argentorati [1887], p. 31). Both writers used their source without fully understanding it. In the first place, the verse cited by the Anonymus as an example of ὀλιγομερία (B 706) is said to contain but two “parts of speech” (Passage B, l. 3 f.). But inasmuch as ancient Greek grammar classed nouns and adjectives together as one part of speech (*ὄνομα*; cf. Kühner-Blass, I, 1, p. 355, 2; 356, Anm. 2), there is only one part of speech, instead of two, in B 706—unless *αὐτό* is to be regarded as a part of speech. Furthermore, Eustathius and the Anonymus do not agree on the number of μέρη λόγον in the verse which is used to illustrate πολυμερία (Z 253, etc.), the former counting five and the latter ten. Finally, Eustathius is perplexed (Passage A, 10–12) because the example of πολυμερία contains but five “parts of speech,” whereas a famous verse of Homer contains all eight parts (X 59). This verse is the stock example of the τέλειον ἔπος, which is one of the seven “varieties” (*διαφοραί*) of the heroic hexameter, Helias Monachus in Studemund, *Anec. Var.* I, p. 173: *τελειον δὲ τὸ ἔχον ὅλα τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου, (οἷον)*

πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον, ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον (X 59);

also Studemund, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 245; Schol. Hephaestion (A), p. 178, Gaisford. Eustathius himself refers to this doctrine in his comment on X 59 (1256, 60): τὸ δὲ “πρὸς δέ με, κτλ.” ἐξ ὀκτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν συγκεκριμένηται. With this passage Grossmann (p. 33) compares Schol. Dion. Thrax, 842, 5:

καὶ γὰρ ἐστιν Ὀμηρικὸς στίχος τὰ ὀκτὼ μέρη τοῦ λόγου ἔχων οὗτος

Πρὸς δέ με, κτλ.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ “πρὸς” ἐστὶ προθέσεως, τὸ “δέ” συνδέσμου, κτλ.

In view of these passages it is not strange that Eustathius was perplexed when confronted with a verse which is used as an example of *πολυμερία* and which contains but five parts of speech.

The clue to the solution of the *aporia* and likewise to the real meaning of *ὀλιγομερία* and *πολυμερία* as used by the common source of Eustathius and the Anonymus Ambrosianus *de re metrica*, is to be found in the ambiguity of the phrase, *τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου*. As a grammatical term the phrase means "one of the eight parts of speech," and this is the sense in which Eustathius understands it. But the later Greek metrical writers used *μέρος τοῦ λόγου* regularly in the sense of "word" (*λόγος*, *λέξις*). The successive steps in the development of this use of the phrase are illustrated by four definitions of the caesura of the hexameter:

1. Aristides Quint. 52M: *τομὴ δέ ἐστι μόνιον μέτρον τὸ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῷ λόγον ἀπαρτίζον, ὑπὲρ δύο πόδας εἰς ἀνόμοια μέρη διαιροῦν τὸ μέτρον*, i.e., a caesura is formed by a word ending within a foot, except the first and second feet.

2. Helias Monachus, *περὶ τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ μέτρον*, § 2 (Studemund, *op. cit.*, p. 172): *γίνεται δ' αὕτη (sc. ἡ τομὴ) ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ . . . ἐν τέλει λέξεως*. Here *λέξις* takes the place of *λόγος* in 1.

3. Anonymus Ambrosianus Q, § 2 (Studemund, p. 159): *πενθεμμερὴς ἐστίν, ὅταν μετὰ δύο πόδας εὐρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς τέλειον μέρος λόγον*; the phrase, *ἀπαρτίζουσα . . . λόγον* is exactly equivalent to "*ἐν τέλει λέξεως*" in 2. *τέλειον* was doubtless added to guard against the possibility of making a *τομή* after a preposition in composition, or the like; *μέρος λόγον* is on the way toward meaning *λέξις*.

4. Anonymus Ambrosianus Q, § 1 (*ibid.*): *ἑφθεμμερὴς δὲ λέγεται, ὅταν μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς πόδας εὐρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος λόγον*. Here *τέλειον* is omitted, and *ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος λόγον* is used in the sense of *ἐν τέλει λέξεως*, that is, *μέρος λόγον* (or *τοῦ λόγον*) is the equivalent of *λέξις*, "word," and does not mean "part of speech" (cf. also Schol. Hephaest. Ambros., Studemund, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Ps.-Hephaestion, *Appendix Lib. II*, cited below).

It is this meaning of *μέρος τοῦ λόγον*, i.e., "word" rather than "part of speech," which we must find in the second of the passages under discussion (B, line 7), for in the verse,

ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν,

there are ten "words" (*τε* being twice repeated), but only five "parts of speech."

This interpretation throws new light upon the meaning of *ὀλιγομερία* and *πολυμερία* as used by the source of Eustathius and the Anonymus Ambrosianus. Both of the examples of *ὀλιγομερία* cited by the two writers (B 706, O 678) contain but three words, for *δυνωκαεικοσίτην* is a single word.

Verses of this kind are extremely rare in the Homeric poems, the only other occurrences being,

and
 Λ 427, αὐτοκασίγνητον ἐνγενεῖος Σώκοιο,

κ 137, αὐτοκασίγνητη δλοόφρονος Αἰήταο.

In the later epic the verse which is composed of three words is almost as infrequent. The writer has noticed the following cases in about 60,000 verses:

Hom. Hymns,	V, 31, πατροκασίγνητος, πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων,
	XXVII, 3, αὐτοκασίγνητην χρυσάουρον Ἀπόλλωνος,
Hesiod, Works,	383, Πηλιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων,
Manetho,	4, 227, δωδεκατημορίοισι, προφήτορας ἱερολάμπρους,
	396, ἀκτινηβολίῃσι φαισφόρου Οὐλύμποιο (= 1, 322),
	421, ἀκτινηβολίῃσι πυριβλήτοισι καταθρή,
Quint. Smyrn.	X, 58, πατροκασίγνητην κρατερόφρονα κυδαίνοντες,
Orph., Lithica,	80, ἀμφιπεριπασθέισα, βαδιζέμεν ἀνθεμόεντα,
	758, αὐτοκασίγνητην κεχολωμένους Ἀργυρότοξος,
Orph., Hymns,	X, 23, πάνρυτε, κυκλοτερής, ἀλλοτριομορφοδίαίτε,
Colluthus,	21, αὐτοκασίγνητην λευκώλεον Ἀμφιτρίτης.

Similarly, no verse in Homer or the later epic poetry, according to the observations of the writer, contains more than twelve words, the number which is found in the verse cited as an example of πολυμερία (Z, 253, etc.), if we count the repetitions of τε. Hence we may conclude that δλιγομερία and πολυμερία had no reference to the "parts of speech," but applied to verses containing a very small or very large number of words.

There are other indications that the metricians counted the number of words in the verse. Marius Victorinus (72, 7, K) mentions among the *versus insignes*, "*quattuor orationis partibus decurrentes*, ut

cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum (Verg. *Aen.* iii. 549)

(where there are only three 'parts of speech' at most); aut δσύνδετοι et διὰ πέντε (sc. μερῶν τοῦ λόγου), ut

formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin. (Verg. *Ecl.* ii. 1)."

Marius Plotius, who admits his indebtedness to the *graeci nobiles metrici* (543, 16, K), apparently is following the same source as Victorinus in the following passage (505, 15, K):

Huius versus, id est heroici, virtutes sunt tres: si δσύνδετος versus fuerit . . . si fuerit tetracolos, id est si quattuor verbis vel quibuslibet partibus orationis fuerit divisus (the ambiguity of μέρος τοῦ λόγου is again apparent) cuius exemplum . . . graecum sic,

αἰδέομαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκλήνης (cf. Δ, 46),

sed πολύ fecit illum quasi pentacolon, nam πολύχρσος compositum nomen est.

Pseudo-Hephaestion, *Appendix Lib. II* (H. zur Jacobsmühlen, *Diss. Argentor.*, X, 248), in a Priscianic illustration of the proper method of describing a Homeric verse:

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (A, 43=457=II, 527).

. . . . ὀκτάκωλος, ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη λόγον, i.e., contains eight words.

Whether the metrician who first noted the number of words in the verse is likewise responsible for the doctrine of *ὀλιγομερία* and *πολυμερία* is uncertain. If so, it is an interesting question why the Latin writers on metric regarded as "noteworthy" or an "excellence" a type of verse which to the Greeks seemed a "blemish." Elsewhere the writer will show that Homer and the other Greek epic poets by no means avoided using the *tetracolos*. For the present it is enough to conclude that the passages discussed above reveal a hitherto unnoticed method by which the ancient writers on metric classified the different types of the heroic verse.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Companion to Greek Studies. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by LEONARD WHIBLEY, M.A. 3d ed., revised and enlarged. Cambridge: University Press, 1916. Pp. 787.

When the first edition of this handbook appeared in 1905, it represented what were supposed to be the sound and safe conclusions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or, rather, what the sixth-form boy, for whose benefit so many texts are edited and handbooks compiled in England, and the undergraduate reading for honors could safely reproduce in examination papers set by conservative dons. Even ten years ago several of the articles were behind the times. Crete, for instance, and the speculations on the early civilization of the Aegean, which were inspired by the excavations in Crete, was ignored; the epithet "Minoan" did not occur; the name of Sir Arthur Evans was absent from the Index of modern scholars, though it was mentioned, cautiously, by Lady Evans in her article on "Dress." Ridgeway contributed the section on "Gems," but his Pelasgian theory was barely mentioned; now it is respectfully discussed in a whole page, and he appears in the Index. Obviously a book that practically ignored Ridgeway, Evans, and their followers might be safe as the grave, but would never do for the new generation at Oxford and Cambridge. In America, too, one would have thought it would languish on the shelves. But I find that the copy to which I have access is falling to pieces from hard wear at the hands of graduate students—of archaeology! Evidently, though in some respects out of date, it was a useful handbook, and since the second edition is practically the same as the first, a new edition was needed. The more important additions are ten carefully written pages on "Ethnology" by Mr. Wace of the British School at Athens; and new articles on "Bronzes" and "Jewellery" by Mr. H. B. Walters. Waldstein's chapter on "Sculpture" has been revised by Professor Bosanquet, who gives most of his extra space to the archaic period. Mr. Wace discusses the "Pre-Historic House." Lady Evans adds four pages on "Minoan Dress." But the most useful addition is the twenty-four new pages on "Pre-Historic Art" by Mr. Wace, fully illustrated from Cretan remains. In fact, more than one hundred pages have been added to the volume, and about fifty illustrations. One sees from this brief enumeration of additions and revisions that the editor now recognizes that the limits of our knowledge, or at least of our theories, are being pushed farther back into the prehistoric days of the civilization of the Aegean and of Greece. But I foresee yet another edition of this book which will

contain a chapter on "Anthropology and the Classics." For the present the anthropological scholar, along with Professor Gilbert Murray, Cornford, and the rest, has not been given a chance. The section on Greek religion will then, perhaps, be rewritten by Miss Jane Harrison, whose three pages on "Ritual" have not been revised, and in their bald list of facts do not even hint at the well-known views of the author of *Themis*. Professor Murray might well rewrite Jebb's coldly correct summary of Greek literature, which was conceived in the eighties. Though naturally it is unimpeachable, as far as it goes, it ignores the modern trend of Homeric studies and the gradual change of attitude due to Rothe, Shewan, Scott, and others. How little has been done to bring this section up to date may be seen in the paragraph on "New Comedy." It was of course originally written before the discovery of the "Cairo" Menander, and only the following sentence has been added: "But his recently recovered plays have not enhanced his reputation." In a handbook of this sort we at least expect to be told what plays or, rather, portions of plays, were found, and where, and when. It is, however, the inevitable fate of a book like this that it should fail at almost every point to satisfy the special student who looks up his favorite subject. That does not mean that it is not a most useful work, whose reappearance will be welcome to English-speaking scholars. And the editor may well retort to his critics that he has room only for ascertained facts. I ask then only for more facts. For instance, the bibliographies are unnecessarily meager, and lack the dates of publication, an omission which makes a bibliography almost useless.

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WILMER CAVE WRIGHT

*Benutzung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz:
Ein Beitrag zur klassischen Philologie.* By FRANZ FESSLER.
Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. Pp. vi+56. M. 2.50.

The purpose of this work is not entirely clear. For a thorough study of the use by Lactantius of Cicero's philosophical writings there might perhaps be a place, even after the works on the subject cited by Fessler and by Schanz (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, III, 2d ed., p. 472), but such an intention the author in his preface and on pages 1 and 22 expressly disavows, on account of the shortness of time at his disposal. He further states that the collections of Brandt and Laubmann's edition (*CSEL*, XIX and XXVII) were not used as a basis but merely subsequently compared with his own, a method which might have been justifiable had he then made a thorough use of them, which he has not.

Three pages on the life of Lactantius, unnecessary in a treatise of this nature, add nothing new and contain one or two errors. The town in Picenum from which the name Firmianus may be derived is not Firmium,

but Firmum, and the fact that in it Lucius was a not uncommon praenomen will hardly appeal to many readers as a strong proof that it was the hometown of the Lactantii. A catalogue of the writings of Lactantius (pp. 4-5) might also be considered a superfluity, but it seems strange that it should make no reference to the questionable authenticity of the work *De mortibus persecutorum*, and yet stranger that it should include without comment among the extant writings of Lactantius the *Symposium*. This work was by Heumann in his edition of 1736 identified with the riddle collection of the so-called Symphosius (cf. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, I, 222, n.), and to our surprise we learn from p. 56 of Fessler's treatise that it is this antiquated edition, rather than the standard one of Brandt and Laubmann, which he has chosen for his citations, though with the assistance and comparison of others, some of them as ancient as 1570 and 1660!

On p. 7 we are told that Lactantius probably knew all the works of Cicero, and a partial list of these is given, including the *De finibus* (of which Brandt and Laubmann's *index locorum* gives no trace; the only parallel cited by Fessler [p. 53] seems to be between *Div. inst.* iii. 12. 9 and *De fin.* v. 7. 20 ff. where the reviewer must plead inability to discover any likeness), the *Ad Murenam* (sic), and the "*De providentia*." If by this last title there perhaps be meant the *De Fato*, no trace of its use has appeared to me in Brandt and Laubmann's index or in Fessler's work, and the same may be said of the orations *Pro Caelio*, *Pro Fonteio*, and *Pro lege Manilia*.

This study of Lactantius is restricted by Fessler to the *Institutiones*, and pp. 8-42 are occupied with a synopsis of books i-ii with a running citation of Ciceronian parallels. Apparently tiring of this method, he compresses the information for book iii (which on p. 7 he stated should be grouped with i and ii as opposed to iv-vii) and for books iv-vii into the form of a table giving the references to Lactantius, the parallels in Cicero, and the subject-matter of the borrowing. By the sign (Br.) he indicates parallels which he has drawn from the collections in Brandt and Laubmann's edition, but the reader must not suppose that all others are Fessler's original contribution to the subject. Comparison reveals the fact that of the parallels not marked (Br.) at least one-half are noted by Brandt and Laubmann, and of the other half a considerable number are rather unconvincing philosophical commonplaces. Other good parallels noted by Brandt and Laubmann are not here included, to the manifest impoverishment of this work. Inequalities, such as the citing (p. 48) of the "*Cat. mai.*" and two lines below of the "*de senect.*," and misprints are all too common. These faults and others culminate in a carelessly prepared and in places inapposite bibliography at the end of the pamphlet. In short, there is little in the whole treatise which needed to be done at all which will not have to be reworked with better judgment and greater accuracy.

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The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus.

By WILLIAM A. OLDFATHER and HOWARD VERNON CANTER.

University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IV,
No. 2, June, 1915. Pp. 118. \$0.75.

The writers of this monograph attempt two things: to show that the traditional view of the Germanic policy of Augustus is untenable, and to advocate a more natural and satisfactory theory. The attack on the old position leads them into a critical examination of the sources, and of the views of modern scholars. The verdict on the sources is that they are meager, unsatisfactory, and full of rhetorical influence. In the account of the battle of Teutoberg Forest the two best sources, Dio and Tacitus, are contradictory and incomplete. On the whole the criticism of the sources is well taken, but one could wish for a more searching examination of individual points, for at times statements that seem probable are rejected because they are found in authors whose reputation is somewhat tarnished. There are some generalizations that must be accepted with reservation, like the following: "Florus was concocting a melodrama; Dio arranging an explanation which would save the credit of Rome and the Roman soldier by putting all the blame on the dead who tell no tales; Velleius distorting everything in *maiorum gloriam* of Tiberius, for whom Varus must serve as a foil at every turn" (an account of the administration of Varus, p. 101).

The modern view has assumed that Augustus attempted the conquest of Germany, but abandoned the undertaking after the defeat of Varus. Various theories have been advanced to prove both of these assumptions. These are taken up in detail and subjected to criticism. It is shown that the population and resources of Germany were far less than most scholars have believed; so that if Germany remained free it was due to the fault of the Romans rather than to the might of the Germans and their leader Arminius. As proof of the weakness of Germany the completeness of Charlemagne's conquest is cited, but no account is taken of the fact that he was thirty-four years at the task. Our authors claim that there has been no satisfactory theory advanced to explain why Augustus desired the conquest of Germany. That of von Ranke, who believed that Augustus was trying to build a world-empire, is contrary to the express statement of Augustus and the spirit of his whole life. Kornemann's view that the influence of the adopted sons of Augustus forced him to abandon his peace policy in 2 B.C. rests on a hypercritical analysis of the *res gestae*, and has no real facts to support it. The theory of Gardthausen and others that the safety of Gaul demanded the conquest of Germany is found to be untenable, because such a policy—i.e., protecting a frontier by new conquests—leads to indefinite expansion until a natural barrier is reached, and no such barrier is found in the plains of Northern Europe. Nor is Meyer's view that

Augustus was trying to find a shorter frontier found more satisfactory, because the few miles saved by the Elbe-Danube frontier do not compensate for the expense of a larger army. Certainly new forces would be needed, for if the legions were removed from the Rhine to the Elbe, additional forces must be raised to act as a police force in Gaul. That Germany was ever reduced to the form of a province is also open to suspicion. Strabo and Pliny do not mention such a fact, and there are few traces of any permanent occupation such as roads and towns. In face of such negative evidence the words of Florus and Velleius can hardly be believed. It is, however, not a serious argument against occupation to say that Roman legions did not winter in Germany, because they seldom did in campaigns in other countries. The importance of the battle of Teutoberg Forest, our authors think, has been magnified unduly. They find no reason for the usual assumption that this battle marks the turning-point of Rome's policy in the north. If there was ever a change of policy, it came in the reign of Tiberius, and for different reasons.

If, however, it is assumed that Augustus was not trying to conquer the Germans, but to force them to keep the peace by a series of raids, then most of the difficulties of the old view disappear. He was trying to create a series of friendly tribes along the frontier to act as a buffer state. This is the testimony of the sources, unless one reads them with a preconceived idea of conquest. It is also in harmony with the policy used by Augustus in other places. He made raids into Arabia, Ethiopia, and Dacia; and the buffer state was used in Armenia and Numidia. Such a theory, too, would account for the absence of all material evidences of occupation, and for the silence of Strabo and Pliny.

The theory has much to commend it, but there are still difficulties. The raids into Dacia and Arabia are not a parallel, because they were not repeated for a number of years, as was the case in Germany; later, when Dacia menaced Roman territory, as had Germany, Trajan's policy was one of conquest. The principle of the buffer state could hardly apply, for it would have to be a buffer against itself, since the region of danger was the district of the Elbe-Rhine. It seems doubtful, too, whether in the unsettled and half-civilized condition of the Germans such a state could have been maintained. Again, it seems more natural to include the German campaigns with the great advance made in the eastern Alps and along the Danube, where there was admitted conquest. At least the rebellions of 6 A.D. in the Danube region and that of 9 A.D. in Germany are due to an attempt to collect a tax, which seems to point to permanent occupation in both districts. It is true that the testimony of Florus and Velleius is not conclusive, but in view of the fact that Pannonia has much the same history as Germany, it seems that this essay is hardly justified in rejecting their testimony outright.

The essay is interesting, and the claims of the new theory are well presented. Whether the theory has been proved or not, a determined assault has been made on the old position and some of its defenses damaged; in any new discussion of the question this work should be considered.

J. F. FERGUSON

BRYN MAWR

Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegese. Von DR. KARL GRONAU. Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1914. Pp. viii+313. M. 12.

In this treatise Dr. Gronau investigates the source of the *Hexaemeros* and πρόσχε στανῶ of Basil, the *Hexaemeros*, περὶ καταστάσεως ἀνθρώπου and *De anima et resurrectione* of Gregory of Nyssa. He finds this source in Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus*, amplified, perhaps, by the addition of material from other works of the same author, and handed down in the philosophical schools with little alteration.

Gronau takes as the basis of his argument the results of the voluminous literature on Posidonius written in the last forty years. His general method of procedure is this: To prove a Posidonian origin for a passage he cites parallels from authors supposed to depend upon Posidonius. Then by pointing out reminiscences of the *Timaeus* or by showing, often with the aid of Chalcidius, that the subject falls within the range of a commentary on the *Timaeus*, he attempts to prove that the source is Posidonius' commentary.

While Gronau is able to show the presence in Basil and Gregory of scientific ideas which are attested as Posidonius' or which may be plausibly attributed to him, and of commonplaces to which he may well have given expression, but of which he was clearly not the originator, he fails utterly, in my opinion, to prove the use of a single Posidonian source. We know very little about Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus*; there are but few references to it in antiquity. The earliest important attempt to determine its contents and influence was in Schmekel's *Die mittlere Stoa*; and later writers have used his conclusions as the basis of new investigations without stopping to verify them. Further, the presence of Stoic elements in an author of later antiquity does not justify us in assuming that whatever he has of a philosophic nature must come from a Stoic source. We find, indeed, in Basil and Gregory a considerable amount of material which demonstrably cannot go back to the Stoa.

Gronau begins with the investigation of Homily 6 of Basil's *Hexaemeros*. This without question contains scientific material taken ultimately from Posidonius. I see no proof, however, of the presence of anything Posidonian in Homily 1. Gronau tries to explain by reference to Posidonius a somewhat striking parallel between Basil 49C ff. and Johannes Lydus *De mensibus*

iii. 3. Basil is answering the question why the first day was called *ἡμέρα μία*, not *πρώτη* (Gen. 1:5). Lydus does not refer to Genesis, but says that the Pythagoreans *τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ χρόνου οὐχὶ πρώτην ἀλλὰ μίαν ὠνόμασαν*. Since this was a topic discussed in Genesis-commentaries (cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, I, 29), and since we find nothing at all like this attested for Pythagoreans, we are forced to the conclusion that Lydus has blundered and that both he and Basil are drawing from some commentary on Genesis, not from a philosophical source. In 16D in a discussion of *ἀρχή* in the sense of a beginning in time, Basil says it is absurd to imagine a beginning of a beginning. Gronau compares this with Cicero *Somnium Scipionis* xxv. 27, which Corssen regards as Posidonian. But in the latter passage, which is a paraphrase of *Phaedrus* 235, *principium* is not a beginning in time, but a metaphysical principle. The meanings of *ἀρχή* which Basil gives here are compared by Gronau to the four causes of Philo *De cherubim* § 125, a passage which Norden thinks is Posidonian; but a careful consideration will satisfy the reader that there is no resemblance whatsoever. In Homily 4 Gronau might be supposed to experience some difficulty, for the theory of the elements is exactly that set forth in Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione*. He urges us, however, not to lay too much stress on differences between Aristotle and Posidonius, and then points to this passage as another proof of the use of Posidonius' commentary, since the *Timaeus* discusses the interchange of the elements. In the remaining homilies there is doxographical and scientific material, some of which may go back ultimately to Posidonius.

The first question discussed in Gregory's *Hexaemeros* is *εἰ ἄνλος ὁ Θεός, πόθεν ἢ ὕλη*. The answer is given that God *ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα δι' ὧν ἡ ὕλη συνίστατο τῷ σοφῷ τε καὶ δυνατῷ θελήματι κατεβάρητο πρὸς τὴν ἀπεργασίαν τῶν ὄντων, τὸ κοινὸν τὸ βαρὺ τὸ ναστὸν . . . τὸ χρῶμα τὸ σχῆμα τὴν περιγραφὴν τὸ διάστημα. ἅ πάντα μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔννοιαί ἐστι . . . οὐ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντα πρὸς ἀλλήλα ὕλη γίνεται*. Gronau admits that similar conceptions of matter are found in Plotinus and Philo, but maintains that Gregory goes back to a Stoic source, because of the presence of the definitely Stoic idea of the *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* (cf. Greg. 77D). Further, Gronau compares Gregory's discussion of matter to Chalcidius'. Now it is to be observed that though Gregory does not reject the idea of a substrate (cf. *δεκτικὴν δύναμιν*, p. 80), he puts extension in the list of *ἐννοιαί* which go to make up matter. But Plotinus was the first, so far as we know, to deny that extension belongs to *ὕλη* and to consider it a quality (cf. Bäumker, *Das Problem der Materie*, 403; Plotinus ii. 4. 11-12). Again, the Stoic theory of *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* appears in Plotinus as clearly as in Gregory (cf. Zeller, II, 2, 609). Whatever parallels there are between Gregory and Chalcidius are commonplaces which may be found in any discussion of matter. In the remainder of Gregory's *Hexaemeros* Gronau establishes the influence of Stoic science, but it seems open to question how much of this is distinctively Posidonian.

In Gregory's *De hominis opificio* there is material which is found in the Stoics, but much of this is by no means confined to them. It is hardly possible to argue that Gregory in his assertion of the unity of the soul is following a Stoic source from the fact that he says that the *νοῦς* acts through the senses. This idea was probably held by the Stoics, but it is found in *Phaedo* 79C and *Theaetetus* 184C. Stronger evidence of the influence of Posidonius Gronau finds in the thought that like is known by like. We know from Sextus Emp. *Adv. math.* vii. 93 that this occurred in Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus*. But if we remember that both Aristotle and Crantor employed this idea in the interpretation of the world-soul in the *Timaeus*, it becomes clear that it was a commonplace of Platonic exegesis. Further, in the passages which Gronau cites from Gregory for this thought, we find conceptions which are certainly non-Stoic, e.g., τὸ μετεχόμενον, τὸ ὀρεγόμενον, ἔφεσις. I see no reason for thinking that the passage on the seat of the soul is Stoic. As Gronau himself points out, Gregory's own opinion is that of Xenocrates. There are Stoic elements in the section on sleep, but Gregory's theory of divination from dreams is demonstrably not Posidonian. Gregory refers prophetic dreams to the lower soul, after *Timaeus* 71E, whereas Posidonius, if we may judge by Cicero *De divinatione*, refers them to the *νοῦς*. Gregory assumes the creation of an intelligible πλήρωμα of souls in the beginning but maintains that the individual soul comes into existence with the body. We can certainly not hold Posidonius responsible for this clumsy attempt to reconcile traducianism and a theory of pre-existence. If Posidonius taught pre-existence at all, we may be sure that he taught the pre-existence of the individual soul.

Gronau depends upon parallels with Cicero *Tusc.* i to prove that the section of Gregory's *De anima et resurrectione* which contains proofs of immortality comes from Posidonius. He thinks that all references to the immateriality of the soul were added by Gregory himself. While the parallels between Cicero and Gregory cannot be denied, I am not convinced by the arguments of Schmekel and Corssen that the Posidonian elements in the first book of the *Tusculans* are as great as they think. For example, it seems to me improbable that *Tusc.* i. 66 and 70, both of which passages Gronau cites as parallel to Gregory, are Posidonian. But even if all of Gronau's parallels in *Tusc.* i come from Posidonius, this fact proves very little for Gregory's source, since the ideas are such as would constantly occur in Platonists. When Gronau asserts on p. 244 that Plato affirms the unity of the soul only in *Republic* 611B, he forgets *Phaedo* 78B, where the immortality of the soul is deduced from its unity and simplicity. Gregory's theory of the relation of the *δρμαί* to the *λογικόν* bears a certain resemblance to Posidonius', but this is too indefinite to allow us to draw any definite conclusions concerning the source. Gronau finds definite traces of Posidonius' in the ideas of the kinship of the soul to God and of its consequent ability to know him. But *Phaedo* 80A contains the thought that the soul is akin to the divine; and

we have already spoken of the wide currency of the idea that like is known by like.

Gronau lays the most stress, however, on parallels between the *De anima et resurrectione* and the myth of Plutarch's *De facie in orbe lunae*. Though he declines to decide between the theories of Heinze and Adler concerning the sources of this myth, in reality he follows Adler in giving Posidonius much that Heinze gives Xenocrates. Gronau thinks that the conception of Gregory that all souls after purification return to God is parallel to Plutarch's thought that the souls are absorbed in the heavenly bodies. On p. 272 he says: "Das Eingehen in den Mond selbst geschieht ohne Beihilfe der Leidenschaften. Die unvernünftige Seele ist vorher im Reinigungsprozesse vom Geiste getrennt. Diese Trennung vollzieht sich durch das Verlangen nach dem Bilde der Sonne, durch das das Anziehende, Schöne . . . hervor-glänzt." With this he compares Gregory 93C where it is said that the soul is drawn to God διὰ τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς κινήσεως, but that when it attains its goal, it loses all desire, since this arises only when we do not possess the object of our longing. Now it is clear enough that there is a parallel between the desire of the νοῦς for the sun and of the soul for God. But Gronau is in considerable confusion in regard to the detail of Plutarch's myth. In the first place, he does not carefully distinguish the return of the νοῦς εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, which is presumably the sun, from the absorption of the ψυχή into the moon. The ψυχή, further, is not separated from the νοῦς in the *Reinigungsprozess*, which takes place between the earth and the moon, but on the moon. Then there is no point in contrasting the absorption of the soul into the moon, which takes place without the aid of the affections, with the earlier separation of νοῦς and ψυχή, which is brought about by longing for the sun. For the absorption of the ψυχή into the moon is a symbolic representation of the disappearance of the passionate element, whereas the longing for the sun does not belong to the affective soul, but to the νοῦς. Gregory goes one degree farther than Plutarch. In the process of purification the soul loses all passions except the desire for τὸ καλόν. This process corresponds to the purification in the air and the separation of the νοῦς from the ψυχή in the moon. But when the soul is united to God, Gregory says that it loses every feeling of desire, since desire arises only because of the absence of the longed-for object. This latter thought, to which we have no parallel in Plutarch, is taken ultimately from *Symposium* 200 ff.

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ROGER MILLER JONES

Menander Studien. By SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS. Bonn, 1914. 8vo, pp. 94.

Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae, iterum ed. SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS.

Bonn, 1914. Text, critical notes. 12mo, pp. 103.

The *Menander Studien* comprise a series of investigations of the four main plays and of the *Fabula incerta* contained in the Cairo MS. To the

Epitrepontes, including an examination of the "St. Petersburg" fragments, are devoted thirty-three pages and to the *Periceiomene*, together with comments on the "Leipzig" fragments, thirty pages. General discussion and detailed examination of many lines and vexed passages make these studies an indispensable supplement to the second edition itself, in which the critical notes are brief.

The second edition is based in part upon Sudhaus' own collation of the Cairo MS, made subsequently to Jensen's two important collations. It is the most recent report of readings to date and, owing to the author's death¹ constitutes the last of his series of valuable contributions to the text of Menander. He had access also to the Leipzig fragments of the *Periceiomene*, and reports, or implies, many new readings which he supplements freely.

Future editions of Menander must reckon with this work. In it some doubtful lines and passages are settled; many ingenious or suggestive interpretations and supplements are offered; many previously made (including some of his own) are rendered untenable on the basis of Sudhaus' new report. That the Cairo MS was already fading when his collation was made adds perhaps an additional element of uncertainty in deciding here and there between his report and the second collation made previously by Jensen with more time at his disposal.

A typical illustration of this would be the small lacunae in *Epitrep.* 519 (L² = Capps 657). Here Sudhaus² reports C λε \ ' OYCE and supplies ε'γφ'δ', ε'γφ'δ'. ἀλλ' οὐ σε etc., but Jensen² reports . . . !NE (.) . . . "OYCE, etc. Jensen makes no conjecture, but I would suggest (if the sixth letter can be read as ο), 'ἐκεῖνος αὐτός'. This suits sense, space, and letters exactly, except for the apostrophe. Körte's supplement, ἐστὶν ἐπίδηλον, is excluded by Jensen's denial of N or T in the last place. Scores of such contradictions resulting from the two reports might, if space permitted, be discussed.

In the *Epitrepontes* Sudhaus incorporates the St. Petersburg fragments at Act I-II, following Ida Kapp, Hutloff, and others. The including of the *recto*, as well as the *verso*, in this play is due to the insight of Professor Capps, who places the fragments, however, at Act III-IV.

In Act I Sudhaus prefixes to these fragments the hitherto unidentified Cairo fragments Z¹⁻² and makes a nearly consecutive text. He fills out ingeniously, if rather boldly, the large lacunae. The main proof for linking this additional fragment to the *Epitrepontes* rests on his restoration (Z¹,

¹ In a brief prefatory note to the edition Sudhaus states that he had completed only as far as *Periceiomene* 200 (=L² 202) when he went to the war, leaving *die Superrevision* to his friend Ludwig Rademacher. His death was subsequently reported.

This second edition contains, besides the Cairo material, the text, with critical notes, of seven other fragmentary plays. Of these only two, the *Georgos* and the *Colax*, were included in his first edition (1909).

l. 4), of $\Lambda\text{M}\text{O}\text{I}\Lambda\text{H}$ as Παμφίλη . The traces are not as clear on the facsimile as Sudhaus suggests and the isolated mention of a Pamphila is not final proof.

Sudhaus also adopted Robert's ingenious and much-discussed dovetailing of the fragments $\text{M}^1 + \text{VX}^1$ and $\text{VX}^2 + \text{M}^2$. Nothing conclusive, it may be said, has yet been adduced either for, or against, the combination. Incidentally, however, I may urge in its favor that it would materially shorten the disproportionately long third act. Sudhaus, with proper conservatism, leaves blank the long interstices between the (alleged) opposite verse-ends. Robert's completions of these lines are ingenious samples of Menandrian imitation, but are misleading to the reader and to himself when he actually draws conclusions, including the invention of hypothetical personages, affecting the make-up of the play from the "made ground" filled in by himself!

The fragments β^1-4 , transferred with certainty from the *Periceiomene* to the *Epitrepontes* by the happy discovery of Oxyrhynchus 1236, he combines with Q^2-1 at Act IV-V (not numbered by Sudhaus). The fragments U^1-2 (before the discovery of Oxyr. 1236 combined with Q^2-1), he prints simply as an appendix to the play.¹

It may be noted that Sudhaus in all the plays leaves the "Acts" without definite numbering. This enables him to dodge the identification of the end of Act III in *Epitrep.* and also a similar and very perplexing question in the *Samia*. In this latter play the parts preserved indicate pretty clearly that the end of the play is impending in the last lines of the text that remain. We seem to be near the close of Act V. But the text, as preserved, apparently begins early in Act II and the lacuna of ca. 140 verses (which seems to be irrevocably fixed by the argument from the quaternion leaves—see Körte, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesell.*, 1908, p. 114 and Capps, p. 233) brings us only to Act III for the "Chorus" introduced at line 271 (L^2). No satisfactory solution for this difficulty has yet, so far as I know, been suggested.

Sudhaus in this last edition (apparently from a preconceived interpretation of *Epitrep.* Q^1), still clung stubbornly to his notion that Sophrona is the mother of Pamphila, although Sophrona has long since been accepted (as, e.g., in Terence's usage) as a standing name for a nurse, the rôle, moreover, that best suits the character in the closing scenes of this play.

In the *Periceiomene* Sudhaus has plausibly restored many passages and added to the understanding of the play. In this particular play the temptations are great to fill out the lacunae and to build up the interpretation on the supplements. That some of his supplements are ingenious, without being convincing, would not evoke criticism if the editor (or editors) had been more uniformly careful (as, for example, on the text of the Leipzig fragment)

¹ Had he lived to complete the revision, probably U^1-2 would have been differently placed. For argument to disprove Robert's combinations of U^1-2 , Q^2-1 , B^1-4 see Allinson, *AJP*, No. 142, pp. 185-202.

to give full data in the critical notes. His deviations from the readings of former editors sometimes seem arbitrary¹ to the reader, who is unable to control his conclusions by a first-hand examination of the text or photograph.

This edition has contributed much to the better understanding of the Menander text and will quicken our approach, necessarily gradual, to a reasonable certainty of what can, and of what cannot, be reconstructed.

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The Semantic Variability and Semantic Equivalents of -oso- and -lento-.

By EDWARD W. NICHOLS. Yale Dissertation. Lancaster, Pa.: New Era Printing Co., 1914. Pp. 42.

The author begins by stating (p. 1): "The purpose of this dissertation is to show (1) that an adjectival termination in Latin may have a wide range of semantic variability, determined primarily by (a) the stem to which it is attached, (b) the noun which the adjective limits; and secondarily (c) by the more remote context; and (2) that there may be a large number of semantic equivalents for such a termination, determined in each instance by the factors (a), (b), and (c) above." For this exposition he has selected adjectives with the suffixes named in the title.

His own typical example of the method employed may be cited (p. 5): "The word 'ventosus' as used by Tacitus, G., V. 3, means 'exposed to the winds.' The sentence is 'terra umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum aspiciat.' The wind does not necessarily blow all the time; but when it does the land is swept by it. The meaning 'exposed to' is forced on -oso- by 'ventus' and 'terra.' In Ovid, Fasti, IV. 392, 'primaque ventosis palma petetur equis,' -oso- means 'swift as.' The word 'ventus' connotes several qualities, either (*sic!*) one of which may furnish the tertium quid comparationis between 'ventus' and another noun. Consequently the precise content of -oso- cannot be known until the noun limited is known."

Following the Introduction, chap. i details with examples the various meanings found for the two suffixes: causing, suffering, fraught with, mixed with, living in, growing in, clear as, round as, provided with, subject to, in need of, celebrated in, known to, composed of, fond of or addicted to, under the influence of, prone to, afflicted with, diseased in, as tough as, near, open or exposed to, tossed by, fickle as, swift as, susceptible to or injured by, fit for, clothed in, smelling of, colored like, full of—31 in all. A certain criticism is forestalled (p. 4 *infra*): "No emphasis should be laid on the exact English wording given in the various translations. Translation is merely the imperfect medium through which the fact that the termination has varying semantic content is indicated."

¹ Possibly this may be due in part to the fact that Sudhaus was prevented (see note above) from revising all his notes himself.

The second feature of the investigation is presented in chap. ii, which cites passages in which adjectives with other suffixes occur with meanings already found for those ending in *-oso-* and *-lento-*. Such semantic equivalents are found among adjectives with the following terminations: *-bili-*; *-ri-*; *-li-*; *-eo-*, *-aceo-*, *uceo*; *-estro-*; *-undo-*, *-cundo-*, *-tundo-*; *-ario-*; *-do-*; *-eno-*; *-ico-*; *-io-*; *-fer-*; *-ger-*; *-biba-*; *-ficus*; and the prefix *in-*. A striking example is quoted (p. 24) from Quint., iv. 2, 52: "Ut furti reum cupidum, adulterii libidinosum, homicidii temerarium," where *-do-*, *-oso-*, and *-ario-* all convey the idea of "prone to." Besides this, the same meanings may be conveyed by a perfect participle, a present participle, a genitive case, an ablative case, an adjective, a noun, a verb. By "adjective" in this last list, he presumably means an adjective without a suffix readily classifiable. The example of parallel between verb and *-oso-* adjective (pp. 33-34) seems to the reviewer rather forced.

Chap. iii was not a part of the original investigation, but was added to illustrate semantic reciprocity between adjectives of other suffixes than those compared with each other in the second chapter.

The material examined comprised (pp. 2-4) 3,587 passages with adjectives in *-oso-* and *-lento-*, including complete collections from the literature down to the end of the Augustan age, except for Nepos, Varro *LL*, Ovid, Manilius, and Seneca Rhetor; of later authors, Quintilian, Martial, Juvenal, and Tacitus were collated in full, and Pliny the Elder and Columella in part. In chaps. i and ii, numerous and valuable parallels are given from Sanskrit.

The following observations may be made: The numerous citations from Ovid in the body of the dissertation cause a suspicion that this name should be given on p. 2 in the list of authors examined, and that its omission there is an accident. The system of abbreviation is inconsistent: "Cato, R. R." and "Cato, A. C." are both found on p. 24, and "Plin," with and without "N.R." on p. 33. Further, the abbreviations are often obscure, and yet no key is given: "A.," "F.," "T.," "O.," "P." are ambiguous even when preceded by "Cic." We should appreciate being told that the *Histories* of Tacitus are indicated by "Tac.," with a Roman numeral for the book, and the *Annals* with an Arabic numeral; but the printer is likely to confuse Roman and Arabic 1, as he does on p. 8, l. 17. The references to the Elder Pliny lack the last and most important subsection. A quotation from Accius in Cic. *N.D.* 2, 89, is credited to Cicero on p. 9. At the last line of p. 12, the page reference to "K. Z., 1912," should by all means have been added. There are some misprints, as *damnosir oagris*, p. 6, l. 18, for *damnosior agris*; *constant*, p. 9, l. 24, for *constent*; *infamen*, p. 28, l. 2, for *infamem*. The punctuation has been handled unsatisfactorily; witness the extracts at the beginning of this review, and the excessive use of quotation marks throughout the treatise.

Nevertheless, this dissertation is a valuable addition to the literature of semantics, and, as might have been anticipated, confirms the propositions set forth at the outset and quoted above. These propositions are not original with Dr. Nichols, and he expressly disclaims any credit for them (p. 1), seeking merely to accumulate the convincing evidence for them. In this he has succeeded. It is to be regretted that it lay outside the scope of his investigation to touch upon the etymology and primary meanings of these suffixes, if such be determinable; for his collections must be enormously superior to the material at the command of those who have hitherto dealt with these problems: cf., e.g., Fay, *KZ*, XLV, 111-33, and Skutsch, *Glotta*, II, 241-46. Possibly Dr. Nichols has in mind to deal with these matters at a later time.

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De Amoris et Psyche Fabella Apuleiana nova quadam ratione explicata.

By J. A. SCHROEDER. Amsterdam, 1916.

Like the story of Cupid and Psyche itself in the *Metamorphoses*, the kernel of this thesis is imbedded in many pages of quite different material. Preceded by a long review of previous theories and followed by a reprint of the text of the Cupid and Psyche story, the "new method of interpretation" is an ingenious application of the psychology of Freud to the literary analysis of Friedländer. For Schroeder holds that the famous story is a primitive folk-tale, somewhat disguised by its Alexandrian dress and satiric embellishments, but still a folk-tale, and one that had its origin, not in any myth of the gods, but in the universal dreams that result from repressed desires of sex. This is hardly susceptible of proof, but the presentation is clear and convincing.

The reprinting of the text that follows is hardly justified by the few notes, or rather references to the argument, that accompany it. On the other hand, the review of Reitzenstein's *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apuleius* in the introductory part of the thesis is valuable for its own sake. For the prestige which Reitzenstein so justly enjoys because of his unquestioned brilliancy might obscure the weaknesses of his highly speculative inaugural. Schroeder finds the weakest spot when he attacks the basic assumption of Reitzenstein that Apuleius took the whole story of his *Metamorphoses* straight from Sisenna who, in turn, merely translated Aristeides. But this is typical of many lesser assumptions and Schroeder clears the air even though his thesis as a whole presents little that is original.

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Military Annals of Greece. By WILLIAM L. SNYDER. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1915. 2 vols. Pp. ix+692. \$3.00.

We are promised, in an advertisement on the cover of this work, not only a history of the Persian Wars, but also "sketches of eminent men of Hellas," an account of the "early inhabitants of prehistoric Greece," a discussion of the Homeric question, and a defense of the truthfulness of "Heroditus" (sic). The character of the book can be inferred from the following quotations. I give some of them in abbreviated form, but I have omitted nothing of importance: "The style of architecture [of the beehive tombs] demonstrates that the people who built these structures, were acquainted with the principle of the arch" (p. 9). "The Hebrew account of the dispersion of the races of mankind, is more authentic and satisfactory than anything which has come down to us" (p. 18). "His [Symoid's] views [of the Homeric question] are supported by modern scholars, who reject entirely the theory advanced by Professor Wolf" (p. 32). "There is one phase of the Homeric question which has not been discussed. The question is, was Homer ignorant of the sublime poetry contained in the sacred literature of the Israelites?" (p. 45). The author accepts Herodotus' estimate of the forces led by Xerxes into Greece, and says, "In view of the clear statements of Herodotus, and the source from which he must have derived his material, no good reason has yet been assigned to doubt his accuracy" (p. 300). "His [Theseus'] tomb is in the temple of Theseus, which still stands near the ancient *agora*, one of the most memorable monuments of antiquity" (p. 481). "In the solemn hush of a summer's evening the soul of the great admiral [Cimon] passed. His race was run, his career was finished" (p. 534).

These quotations require, I think, no comment. Mr. Snyder's book appears to be an uncritical compilation from the older handbooks; he seems to know no history of Greece more recent than that of Curtius. He quotes from the more familiar Greek authors, but there is no evidence that he has a critical acquaintance with sources or source problems. He never refers to the recently discovered archaeological material; apparently he has not even heard of the discoveries in Crete! There are in his book no notes of a really critical character, and few notes of any kind; and there is no bibliography. While the author sometimes speaks of "German scholars," there is nothing to show that he is acquainted with any but the older English literature. It cannot be denied that he has occasional flashes of insight, and that his pages sometimes afford rather interesting reading. His book may commend itself to Professor Ferguson's "hypothetical general reader." Students, however, will be convinced by a very cursory inspection that this work is without scientific value.

WILLIAM D. GRAY

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Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum. Vorlesungen am Collège de France gehalten von FRANZ CUMONT. Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe von GEORG GEHRICH. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914. Pp. xxviii+347. M. 5.

Franz Cumont's *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* was first published in 1906 (Paris: Leroux). The German translation of this edition, by Georg Gehrich, at present Pastor and Kreisschulinspektor in Goslar, appeared in 1909, with preface and index by the translator. The second French edition, in 1909, contained the eight chapters substantially unchanged, excepting that on Syria, but with index and very greatly amplified notes. Gehrich's translation of this second edition now appears, with preface dated September, 1914. An English version of the second edition, by a translator unnamed, was published in 1911 by the Open Court Publishing Company (Chicago). A review of the original edition, and an appreciation under the title of "The Significance of Franz Cumont's Work," both by the present reviewer, may be found respectively in *Classical Philology*, III, No. 4 (October, 1908), and as an introduction to the Open Court translation.

Franz Cumont, formerly professor in the University of Ghent, was at the outbreak of the war curator of the Musée Cinquantenaire at Brussels, and had completed arrangements for an extended period of investigation at Rome in his chosen field. His departure for Rome was accomplished only after five months of effort.

GRANT SHOWERMAN

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A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical research. By A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., LL.D. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1914. Pp. xl+1360. \$5.00 net.

In 1908 Professor Robertson published *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. From its preface, it appears that he was led to begin his collection of material from a desire to transfer more of the method and results of comparative philology to the treatment of New Testament grammar. Later he became interested in the researches of Deissmann and Moulton, with the result that this earlier work was marked by its large use of comparative grammar and by the emphasis that it laid on the value of the study of the *κοινή* and modern Greek for a thorough understanding of the language of the New Testament. The present volume expands and supplements the earlier work and might almost be described as a historical Greek grammar in which special attention is given to the Greek of the New Testament. Its range extends from the hypothetical origins of the language in

Indo-Germanic to its latest development in modern Greek. Naturally the author is not equally at home in all parts of so wide a field. Generally he is wise in his choice of authorities, though at times he seems to give too much weight to the opinions of earlier scholars whose work has in part been superseded by later investigations. Most scholars, for example, would hesitate to adopt the judgment of Clyde against that of Brugmann in the question of the pronominal origin of the personal endings of the verb, or to state on the same authority that λέγω was originally λέγομι.

In his introduction (pp. 3-139) he gives a résumé of the progress in the field of New Testament grammar with a full account of the new material now at the disposal of the grammarian, and discusses at length the relation of the language of the New Testament to the κοινή in general. His position is substantially that of Deissmann; viz., that the New Testament writings belong to the vernacular and not to the literary κοινή. The section on accident (pp. 143-376) takes up the topics of word-formation, orthography, phonetics, declensions, and conjugations. Here, as in the following section on syntax, he makes large use of the work of Delbrück and Brugmann in comparative philology and that of Thumb and Hatzidakis in mediaeval and modern Greek, tracing the development of the language from its earliest beginnings down to the New Testament period and then on to its present state, in so far as the later Greek contains developments of New Testament phenomena.

The section on syntax (pp. 379-1298) contains, in addition to the usual topics based upon the parts of speech, chapters on the meaning of syntax, the sentence, and figures of speech. His syntactical doctrine may be described as strongly colored by a profound belief in the final perseverance of the root-meaning. Thus in his general discussion of the cases he says: "In the study of each case the method of this grammar is to begin with root-idea of the particular case in hand. Out of that, by means of context and grammatical history, the resultant meaning in the particular instance can be reached. Even in an instance like ἐν μαχαίρῃ (Luke 22:49) the locative case is not out of place. The smiting (παράξομεν) is conceived as located in the sword." Doubtless Professor Robertson does feel the root-ideas when he reads such phrases. It may be questioned whether the same was true of Luke and Theophilus. The same attitude of mind appears in his treatment of the accusative with the infinitive. Because this accusative arose in connection with the verb on which the infinitive depends, and because the infinitive itself as a verbal noun was originally used without a designated subject, Professor Robertson cannot regard this accusative in its later uses as the subject of the infinitive, but must explain it as an "accusative of general reference." So, too, the confusion in the use of εἰς and ἐν in the New Testament is explained as due primarily to the fact that originally they were the same word. The possibility is suggested that this equivalence in usage might have persisted in some measure in the vernacular, but this is not

urged as an essential part of the explanation. No intervening medium is thought necessary for such reversion to type. In thus calling attention to this phase of the author's point of view I should do injustice to the book if I did not add that Professor Robertson has made himself familiar with the investigations of modern scholarship and has brought together in his book an immense amount of valuable material, including much that is of interest to classical students. It is provided with three good indexes and contains copious references to the literature upon the various topics discussed.

RALPH HERMON TUKEY

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Prodikos von Keos und die Anfänge der Synonymik bei den Griechen.

VON DR. HERMANN MAYER. (Rhetorische Studien herausgegeben von Dr. E. Drerup, Heft 1.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913. Pp. 159. M. 5.

Mayer concludes from the available evidence that Prodicus was the first to attempt a scientific study of the meaning of words but that he left no work on that subject. However, on the basis of the passages in the works of Plato, where Prodicus is mentioned or introduced as speaking, confirmed and supplemented by scattered references in other authors, he is able to deduce certain general principles that Prodicus followed in the discrimination of synonymous terms and also to point out certain characteristic methods in his use of synonyms in connected discourse. Mayer then applies this test to the works of the authors who might have come directly under his influence. Aside from its demonstration of the influence of the teachings of Prodicus upon his contemporaries, the book contains a number of interesting observations on the relation between synonymy and other elements of style.

RALPH HERMAN TUKEY

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Q. Orazio Flacco studiato in Italia dal Secolo XIII al XVIII. By

GAETANO CURCIO. Vol. VII of Biblioteca di Filologia Classica, diretta da CARLO PASCAL. Catania: Fran. Battiato, 1913. Pp. viii+338. L. 5.

Curcio's work belongs among the remoter ramifications of classical philology. Strictly speaking, it is within the field of comparative literature. The author's aim is to trace the influence of Horace on the technique, contents, and spirit of Italian lyric poetry from Petrarch through the eighteenth century. His hope is that he may contribute materials indispensable for the study of Italian poetry.

To the classicist, however, it is a welcome addition to the small number of books which deal exhaustively with the difficult theme of the influence of ancient authors on modern literature, although the field chosen by Curcio is of course more limited than that of Zielinski with Cicero, von Reinhardt with Plautus, and Stemplinger with Horace.

The treatment is not piecemeal, ode by ode, like Stemplinger's, but historical. The work is systematically divided into periods as follows: A. Early Humanists: Petrarch (chap. i), Boccaccio and Salutati (chap. ii); B. First Half of Fifteenth Century: Horace neglected by humanists (chap. iii); C. Second Half of Fifteenth Century: University of Florence; Landino and Politian (chap. iv); University of Ferrara; Ariosto (chap. v); the Academies of Naples and Cosenza; Beccadelli, Sannazzaro, etc. (chap. vi); D. Sixteenth Century: critics, editors, and commentators (chap. vii); the Venetians; Pietro Bembo, etc. (chap. viii); translators and imitators (chap. ix)—and so on with the critics, editors, commentators, translators, and imitators of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.

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